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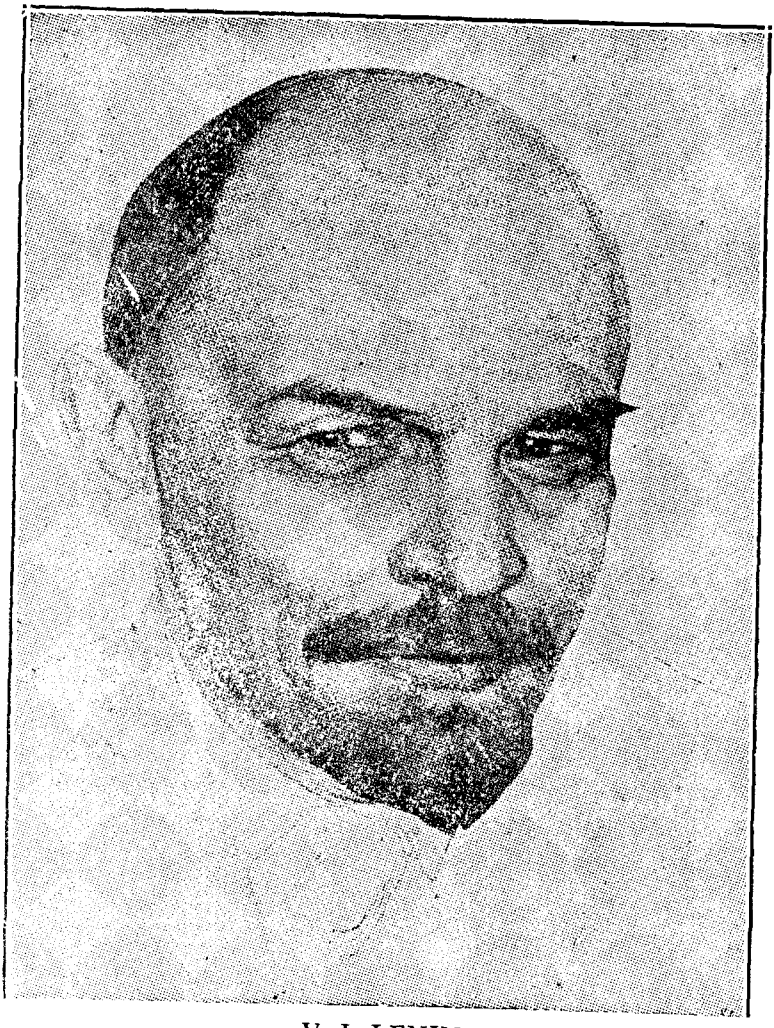

V. I. LENIN

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REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Lenin Memorial Days Are Here. The Bolshevik Way Versus the Social-Democratic Way. A Balance Sheet of History. Leninism and the People's Front. Our Tactics Serve Our Strategy. Big Business Demands Capitulation. Monopoly Sabotage Precipitates Entry Into New Economic Crisis. People's Ultimatum. Break Monopoly Sabotage and Save Masses From New Economic Disaster. Political Strategy of Reaction and the Crisis. A New Reactionary Coalition and Its Program. Liberty League in Different Guise. Systems and Individuals. Timeliness of Communist Proposals. Labor and Farmer Get Together. A Significant Agreement. Build Farmers' Union. Small Farmer Must Become More Articulate. Soviet Elections Demonstrate Higher Type of Democracy. Camp of Peace Strengthened. Dewey Serves Trotsky and Trotsky Serves Hitler. Japanese Aggression and O'Connell's Resolution. Reminders on Recruiting Drive.

LENIN memorial days are here.

It is fourteen years since Lenin died—January 21, 1924. But Lenin's teachings are more alive than ever, and the army of Leninism is growing day by day.

Leninism, said Stalin, is the Marxism of the imperialist era. This meant that Lenin rescued the revolutionary substance of Marxism from all opportunist distortions and dilutions at the hands of the reactionary leaders of the Second (Socialist) International. Lenin brought Marxism back to life as the scientific theory and practice of revolutionary socialism. This meant further that Lenin continued and developed Marxism to explain the nature of the new period and to meet the tasks which this period placed before the working class of all countries .

Of this new period Stalin said:

"Leninism grew up and assumed definite form under the conditions of imperialism, at the time when the contradictions of capitalism had reached a most acute stage, when the proletarian revolution had become an immediate practical question, when the old period of preparation of the working class for the revolution had reached and grown into a new period of direct onslaught against capitalism." *

This is how Bolshevism was born, leading to victory over capitalism the working class and its allies on one-sixth of the earth. This is how the class struggle in all capitalist countries was given a fresh impetus and a new turn. And particularly since the victory of the great October Socialist Revolution in 1917, this is how the class-conscious workers of all capitalist countries have been set consciously on the path of preparation for the

* Joseph Stalin, *Foundation of Leninism*, p. 11. International Publishers, New York.

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"direct onslaught against capitalism."

It is a difficult path and by no means a straight one. But it is the only one to the liberation from capitalism—to freedom, security and happiness.

In the years immediately following the first world imperialist war, the toiling masses of the world were in a most advantageous position for a final and victorious struggle against capitalist and imperialist domination. Leninism pointed the way to victory. And victory it was in the former empire of the tsar where the Party of Lenin and Stalin was leading the working class and with it—all toilers. A victory which was finally crowned with the completion and triumph of the socialist system, with the most genuine democracy and only real freedom for the people as embodied in the great Stalin Constitution.

Had the working class of Germany, Austria and Hungary been successful in establishing firmly the power of the Soviets, which were set up in those countries in 1918 during the months of revolutionary upheaval, Europe today would be socialist. But the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy, in whom the masses still had confidence, joined hands with the bourgeoisie to save capitalism, to debauch and suppress the revolutionary movement of the masses. This was done by means of "reforms," by false promises, by terroristic attacks upon the advanced sections of the working class (remember: Noske and Severing), by frightening the masses with the "costliness" and "difficulties" of the Leninist and Bolshevik way.

Now, fourteen years after Lenin's death, the peoples of the world have before them a balance sheet of history. And what does it total up to? The way of Lenin led to the triumph of socialism and true democracy. The way of the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy led to fascism. Is there any doubt about that today? None whatever. The collaboration of these reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy with the bourgeoisie paved the way for fascism, made possible its victory, prepared the destruction of the very bourgeois democracy in whose name these leaders were suppressing the revolutionary movements of the proletariat.

Surely, the Lenin way was a difficult one and also a costly one. But what about the cost to the masses of restoring post-war capitalism? What about the cost of fascism? What about the cost of the fascist wars against Spain and China? And who has measured fully the cost of the crisis of 1929-1932? And the cost of a new economic crisis threatening us now? Finally, the cost of a new world war to which imperialism and fascism are driving—who has measured the cost of that to the toiling masses?

The balance sheet of history speaks for itself. It speaks for the truth and vitality of Leninism, for its eventual triumph everywhere, for the greatness of the genius of the man Lenin who showed the masses the road to freedom and happiness, for the greatness of the genius of the man Stalin who so wonderfully continues and develops further the cause and teachings of Lenin.

It may not be apparent at first glance how Leninism guides the struggle of the masses today against fascism and war, how the present-day fight for the unity of the working class

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and for the People's Front bespeaks the vitality and truth of Leninism. That is why we must study Leninism and master Bolshevism. We must do it for the sake of these very struggles of today which prepare the basis for the final struggle of tomorrow.

Only from the position of Leninism, with the help of its fundamental teachings, was it possible to discover the correct and effective answer to the menace of fascism and war in the present world situation. This, too, is an historic fact. Faced with the coming of fascism to power in several big capitalist countries, which the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy helped to bring about, Social-Democracy *as a whole* was floundering and entered a deep and protracted crisis. Some of its leaders openly capitulated to fascism. Others were standing still, paralyzed, and marking time. In the body of the movement, among the mass of the membership and among the functionaries, there began a deep process of re-evaluation of values with strong tendencies of development toward united action with the Communists. As a movement, therefore, Social-Democracy proved totally unable to present to the masses an effective answer to the situation created by the victory of fascism.

In glaring contrast to this stands Dimitroff's historic fight against fascism at the Leipzig trial. There already sounded the call of the outstanding Leninist for united struggle against fascism, a call which subsequently took the shape of the policy of the united and People's Front as formulated by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. At that Congress, the Communists, too, probed deeply into the fundamentals of their position, but with results entirely different from those arrived at by the Social-Democratic movement from a re-evaluation of Social-Democratic values. Not only did the Communists find the fundamentals of their position—Leninism—valid and correct, but with the help of these fundamentals they were able to formulate an effective policy of struggle against fascism, the united and People's Front, which almost at once was accepted and put to life by large masses in France, Spain and China with very great success, and which has been gaining adherence and support from the masses of the peoples all over the world ever since.

The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International produced a *new tactical orientation* out of which followed the new way of struggle for the united front and the policy of the People's Front. This meant the modification or replacement of old forms of struggle by new ones; the replacement of old forms of organization by new ones, old slogans by new ones, and a different way of combining these new forms and methods of work and struggle. Quite a change, as everyone knows. And the more thorough and correct the change, the more effective our new tactical line is proving to be in life. On this we have already accumulated most precious experiences.

But it was a change in tactics dictated by serious changes in the world situation, some favorable, some unfavorable, a change in tactics designed to promote further the struggle for our correct revolutionary aims, our principles, our strategic objectives, for the aims and teachings of Leninism.

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Working class power and socialism —the dictatorship of the proletariat— is our fundamental revolutionary aim. For this aim we are fighting today as consistently as ever. By education and by our participation in the daily struggles of the masses for their betterment, by influencing the character and direction of these struggles, we seek to win the masses to the acceptance of this revolutionary aim. But we are doing it in a new way, by means of our new tactical line. We are doing it by mobilizing the masses in the united and People's Front against fascism and war. This is how the masses learn today, on the basis of their own experience, the need of revolutionary change and of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the struggle for our new tactical line, and in the undoubted successes which this struggle is registering, we are of course learning a lot of new things. It would be too bad, if we did not. For example, life has already shown that the successful struggle against fascism through the united and People's Front creates various *new approaches* to the eventual struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Spain is one of the best examples. The victory of the Spanish people over fascism, foreign and native, will no doubt mark the emergence of a new kind of democratic republic, one in which there will be no room for fascism, in which the economic roots of fascism (reactionary landlordism and fascist-minded monopoly capitalism) will be thoroughly undermined and eliminated. And since this change is bound to be accompanied by the strengthening of the role of the working class and its alliance with all toilers, a situation of transition to the socialist revolution will inevitably be created, as well as a new approach to the establishment of working class power. The rapidity with which this transition will be carried out will depend of course upon the relationship of class forces nationally and internationally, but the new approach will be there just the same.

In fact, we can see these new approaches, rich in variety of form emerging, if only in embryo, in all places where the united and People's Front against fascism is making significant advances. Even in the United States, it is already possible to see that the further consolidation of the forces of the People's Front and the unity of the working class, and the victory of the people over the camp of reaction and fascism, will create new and most significant approaches to the eventual establishment of working class power and socialism.

There is, of course, nothing in this that is inconsistent with Leninism. Quite the contrary. It was precisely Lenin and Stalin who taught us the truth that the Communist Party will lead the masses to the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat only on the basis of their own experiences, proceeding from the lessons and logic of these experiences. And this touches the very heart of our tactical problems: to lead the working class and its allies in such a way as to bring them to the concrete approaches to the struggle for power. Our present tactical orientation, the united and People's Front against fascism and war, has solved correctly and successfully this central problem. In fact, this was

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precisely how the Seventh World Congress, and Comrade Dimitroff, had posed the problem from the beginning. And in doing so, they proceeded from this fundamental of Leninism, that:

". . . the transition from capitalism to communism cannot of course fail to produce a tremendous wealth and variety of political forms, but their substance will inevitably be one—*the dictatorship of the proletariat.*" (Lenin.)

This is how we are fighting today for our final revolutionary aims with a new tactical line.

Similarly with our strategic objectives. Chief among them are the establishment of the unity of the working class and the building up of its alliance with the toiling farmers and middle classes of the cities, with the proletariat leading in this alliance. These strategic objectives are being proven more correct every day. Only we have been fighting for them, since the Seventh World Congress, in a new way, with a new tactical line—the new way of struggle for the united front, for one political party of the proletariat, and for the People's Front. And life itself has already shown that this new tactical line promotes most effectively our strategic objectives.

This is how Leninism lives in our struggles of today. This is how Leninism guides our daily struggles against fascism and war, against capitalism and imperialism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. With Stalin we can say confidently that "our tactics are part of our strategy, subordinate and subservient to it."

* * *

Big business wants the people to capitulate. Far from showing any sort of disposition to meet the President's advances even a fraction of the way, the reactionary monopolies, the inspirers of fascism in this country, insist upon a complete "free hand" to do as they please and the devil take the rest. Is this an exaggerated statement? Not at all. Read "The Platform for American Industry for 1938" adopted unanimously by the National Association of Manufacturers at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria, New York, on December 8. Du Pont and Weir had a strong hand in drafting it. The platform proceeds from the following:

"What this country needs is business confidence. Business will move forward—producing more goods, and therefore more jobs—if it is permitted to face the future with only the natural hazards of legitimate private competition."

It sounds like an ultimatum and is no doubt intended as such. It means that the monopolies will continue to sabotage and make worse a bad economic situation if the government will not capitulate and if the people do not give up their mandate of 1936.

Read the above quotation carefully. Its brazen arrogance can hardly be duplicated. It says in so many words that the only "restraint" big business is willing to tolerate is the one which their own system imposes upon them —"the natural hazards of legitimate private competition." If this means, as it does, starvation, insecurity, unemployment, disease, oppression, terror and murder, for the American people—this is okay with the monopolies; nobody must interfere with that; nobody must seek to put any

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restraints upon it; because, if you do, big business "loses confidence" and then there are no production and no jobs.

This, mind you, is no academic discussion. Big business seeks to drive home its point by economic sabotage and political reaction. It seized upon the fact that a new economic crisis was maturing but whose outbreak might have been delayed for a year or so, and began to aggravate all existing tendencies of business recession, thus bringing nearer the outbreak of the crisis. And because the people were not united enough behind their own program of struggle against the reactionary monopolies, and because the government failed drastically to call a halt to the criminal doings of the reactionary sabotagers (sweeping curtailments of production and mass lay-offs), the du Ponts and Girdlers are actually succeeding in turning the business recession into the opening of a new economic crisis.

Joseph P. Kennedy is no particular enemy of the monopolies. On the contrary, he is quite friendly to them and is therefore one of the President's contact men with big business. And even Kennedy had to tell big business to:

"Begin to show some sense in your dealings with the administration, or expect a national economic disaster which will be worse for you than anyone else." (*New York Times*, December 14.)

The President's housing plan is a substantial concession to big business. It is undisputable that the government can carry out the housing program, more cheaply and better for the people in all respects, *without* big business. Yet the President chose to bring big business into it presumably in the hope that this will mollify the sabotagers and induce them to desist from aggravating the economic situation. Also, as a believer in capitalism, the President is naturally inclined to give "private enterprise" all the benefits of doubt.

But what happened? *Big business continued to sabotage.* Word went down from Wall Street to the small town bankers and businessmen that the President's housing plan was not enough to re-establish "confidence." Result? Nearly everywhere local bankers are discouraging the people from making use of the plan. Meanwhile the economic situation worsens, bringing the country to the opening of a new economic crisis.

We let Kennedy speak again:

"There is nothing the President can do to help matters, so long as some of the businessmen in this country are determined to believe that nothing the President does will be beneficial. The reaction to the housing plan is an example. It's a good plan. It ought to work and it's the kind of plan that should please business. But instead of taking it for what it is, business men are continually pointing to its defects." (*Ibid.*)

Note the way Kennedy describes the sabotage of big business against the President's housing plan. This is important. As to his assertion that the government can do nothing without big business, this is all moonshine. Taking the question of housing alone, the government can and should immediately go ahead and initiate work on the plan without and against big business. Plans for that have been prepared by labor and other progressive groups long ago. And just recently, Philip Murray, chairman of the C.I.O. steel union, proposed a plan to the government whereby the social

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security funds could be borrowed for a most extensive housing program that this country has ever seen.

The time for temporizing with the reactionary monopolies (if ever there was such a time), the time for trying to coddle them and mollify them, *has passed.* It is precisely these attempts at mollification that enabled the monopolies to precipitate the bad economic developments. The country is entering the first phase of a new economic crisis, and the situation therefore demands the immediate application of drastic measures *to protect the people from the effects of a new economic disaster.* The immediate and emergency program made public by the Communist Party in October meets the situation. The trade unions, the toiling farmers, the Workers Alliance and many middle class groups and also the National Negro Congress—the people, in short—have already made known their demands and program. What is acutely lacking is organized and united action by the forces of the people in support of their demands. Unity of action between the C.I.O. and A. F. of L., unity of action between the working class and all other toiling classes and progressive groups—this is the imperative mandate of the moment.

And remember the slogan:

Break the sabotage of the monopolies and save the people from a new economic disaster!

* * *

REACTION began speculating audibly as early as last spring on how to exploit the difficulties of recovery and the maturing crisis for a fresh onslaught upon the people and upon Roosevelt's New Deal. Upon this we commented in these columns last May. It is important to add now that these reactionary speculations are being put into effect by the monopolies and, so far, with some success.

Congress continues to be paralyzed by the bi-partisan tools of reaction within it. Furthermore, at this writing, fresh efforts are being made by the monopolies to widen and consolidate the bi-partisan reactionary combination in Congress, not on one issue alone, as in the case of the Supreme Court, but on an *entire platform.* We can do not better by way of comment than to quote lengthily from an Associated Press dispatch of December 16:

". . . Several senators disclose they had been urged to sign a public statement advocating a ten-point program to stop the business recession.

"The steps suggested were revision of business taxes, approach towards a balanced budget, 'just relations between capital and labor,' reliance on profitable investment of private savings, recognition of the profit motive and superiority of the competitive system, assurance of the safety of collateral, reduction in the general tax burden, maintenance of states' rights, economical and non-political distribution of relief, and preservation of the American system of private enterprise.

"No one would claim authorship of the document. Some legislators reported it had been prepared by a small group including Senators Vandenberg, Bailey, Byrd and Gerry."

Do you recognize it as the platform of the Liberty League? Then you are making no mistake: it is that and also the 1938 platform of the National Association of Manufacturers on which we commented in the foregoing.

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You can see here the working out of the political strategy of the reactionary monopolies. Exploiting the opening economic crisis, which their own sabotage has precipitated as the main issue, the fascist pirates of big business are seeking to knock together and consolidate a reactionary coalition in Congress, and in the country at large, on a rounded-out program taken from the Liberty League and from the Manufacturers Association, *blaming Roosevelt's New Deal and labor for the crisis,* for the following two main purposes: to blackmail the present special session of Congress as well as the next regular one assembling in January and, second, *to lay the basis for a comeback to power in the Congressional elections of 1938 by means of such a reactionary coalition;* this as a stepping stone to the presidential elections of 1940.

In the light of these developments, the message to the American people that came out of the November meeting of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party (see Browder's report*) is more than timely. Its proposals for the more rapid consolidation of the forces of the People's Front around the Roosevelt-labor alliance and for the unity of the working class—the realization of these proposals is becoming daily more acutely urgent.

At the same time, there are some points that need clearing up in the awful mess that monopoly capital is making at the present economic situation. Big business and its apologists say that their system—capitalism—is sound; the only trouble is labor and the New Deal. In other words, the trouble is the American people. The President also claims that the system is sound (although he should have learned by this time to know better): the trouble, he says, are some individual big business men. This too holds little water, for these "individual big business men" happen to be the masters of the nation's economy by virtue of which they are holding the people by the throat. And they are masters of the nation's economy by virtue of the fact that they own and control all the basic industries and the banking system. They do this because the system is *capitalism,* capitalism in its most advanced and last stage—monopoly capitalism, imperialism.

That is why, following Lenin and Stalin, we say: *the system is rotten,* it is decaying and poisoning the life of the people, it is producing fascism and war, it is producing crises and economic catastrophes, its only real beneficiaries are the monopolies and big business. And we say further: the monopolies and big business are by their very nature sabotagers of the nation's economy and inspirers of political reaction and, in the course of the last several months, they have purposefully and deliberately worsened the economic situation, precipitating the opening of a maturing crisis in order to break labor and the New Deal and come back to power.

When therefore the National City Bank tells us piously that "it is manifestly incorrect to blame any individual for the situation" (December *Bulletin),* we say: gentlemen, you are lying. The blame lies squarely upon the du Ponts, Morgans, Rockefellers,

* *The Communist,* December, 1937.—*The Editors.*

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Girdlers, Fords and the rest of the noble company. *It is their system. It is their criminal doings.*

When the National Association of Manufacturers puts a pistol to the head of the American people demanding unrestrained rule by the monopolies in the economy and politics of the nation or else "no production and no jobs," we say: gentlemen, you are playing with fire because this is 1937 and not 1929. The American people are already demanding both a struggle against the monopolies, a more intensive struggle than heretofore, *and* production, *and* jobs, *and* security, *and* stabilized incomes for the farmers and all toilers, *and* democracy and more democracy, *and* peace—a struggle "to quarantine" the fascist war-makers. The American people are getting ready to present to the monopolies *their* ultimatum, the people's ultimatum, and this ultimatum to the monopolies says: *you will either carry on under conditions that give us some protection or else the government will and we will see to it that it does.*

Such an ultimatum to big business is now maturing in the minds and hearts of the overwhelming majority of our people. We must make it articulate. We must help organize it. And for this, once again: hasten the consummation of trade union unity, extend the field of common actions between the unions of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L., consolidate rapidly the forces of the People's Front around the Roosevelt-labor alliance.

* * *

LABOR and farmer collaboration is making distinct progress. The most recent expression of this very significant development is the agreement for common action arrived at among the following three organizations—the National Farmers' Union, the Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union (C.I.O. affiliate) and Labor's Non-Partisan League.

The agreement, consummated at conferences in St. Paul and announced from Washington by Labor's Non-Partisan League, rests upon the following general understanding:

"The undersigned representatives of organized labor and organized agriculture recognize that labor and farmers have a definite community of interest with agreement that we stand on common ground in the following respects:

"1. Labor and farmers compose the great exploited mass of producers and consumers;

"2. We can establish our rightful position in society only by unity of action;

"3. We can preserve our right of the economic choice only by common action as opposed to those who seek to deprive us of our present liberties;

"4. We are opposed by the same groups. We are seeking the same social and economic objectives and we are committed to the same methods of achieving our common aims."

From this basis, the agreement provides for a number of specific actions, such as the setting up of joint committees for political action in the state and national capitals, exploration of methods for developing consumer cooperatives, the holding of state and national conferences to plan joint action for the promotion of a legislative program in connection with the 1938 Congressional elections. The agreement is signed by John Vesecky for the Farmers' Union, Donald Henderson for the Agricultural Workers Union and E. L. Oliver for Labor's Non-Partisan League.

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The realization in life of this modest agreement will have far-reaching consequences and should be greeted as of first rate importance. It is clear that this agreement became possible primarily because of the strong current among the masses of workers and toiling farmers for common action. Thus the agreement rests upon a solid foundation of mass support. Given this basis, the action of the C.I.O. national conference supporting the demands of the toiling farmers, the important pioneering work for labor-farmer collaboration carried out by the first convention of the Agricultural and Cannery Workers Union and the support for such collaboration registered by the recent convention of the Farmers' Union—all this, together with the effective work of Labor's Non-Partisan League, combined to bring about the present agreement. One can only express the wish that the specific provisions of this agreement be put into effect with the utmost possible speed.

What is necessary in addition is the most intensive building up of the three organizations that are party to the agreement—the building up and strengthening of these organizations *at the bottom,* among the masses. This will give the agreement the necessary strength and backing. Here we shall touch especially on the organizing campaign for the building up of the Farmers' Union. This is task number one for the membership of the organization as well as its leadership. The Farmers' Union is in need of broadening out its base among the toiling farmers and of strengthening its organization among them. And in this connection, the need is especially great for reaching and organizing the poorer sections of the farmers, *the small farmer* whether tenant or owner, as well as the sharecroppers. This section of the farmers, closest to the working class, is thus far the least articulate and the least organized. Concentration therefore is required for this particular section. Not, of course, to the exclusion or neglect of the middle farmers. Not at all. But for the purpose of building up and cementing the union of the small and middle farmers and their collaboration with labor.

Considered from this angle, the program adopted by the last convention of the Farmers' Union would be a much more effective instrument for the organization of what it calls "the bottom one-third," if it went into more detail on the specific demands of the small farmers and sharecroppers. The program does outline the main principles underlying the demands of the small farmers. It calls for the—

> ". . . expansion of the Farm Security Program to meet the needs of the bottom one-third of our farmers with particular reference to: farm tenancy, debt adjustment, land utilization, rehabilitation and emergency relief."

But, if on the basis of these principles, the program had embodied the *fundamentals of the specific measures* to give effect to these principles, it would have been much stronger and more effective in the building of the Farmers' Union. It would also have demonstrated to the masses a greater consciousness on the part of the convention of the special needs of the "bottom one-third" whose support and confidence the Farmers' Union

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must have in order to fulfil its important mission. It is clear that one of the first tasks of the national board of the Farmers' Union is to supplement the general program, and in accord with it, with a statement of specific measures in the interests of the small farmers and sharecroppers.

This needs a bit of emphasis. For it is well known that the New Deal (including Secretary Wallace) concerns itself primarily with the farmer-capitalist, only secondarily with the middle farmer, and as to the small farmer and sharecropper—this group is not only ignored as a rule but very often sacrificed. Reaction and its agents (Coughlin, for example), have already tried to exploit this fact for fascist purposes.

From this it does not follow that the Farmers' Union should not collaborate with the New Deal and Secretary Wallace. But it does follow that the Farmers' Union especially should, in its collaboration with the New Deal, *press for a different class orientation*. First come the small farmer and sharecropper who work and struggle shoulder to shoulder with the middle farmer, and only secondarily comes the well-to-do farmer; and by no means should concessions to the farmer-capitalist be made at the expense of the small and middle farmers. The group to pay for such concessions are the monopolies and the rich.

The collaboration with labor, which the agreement provides for, will enable the Farmers' Union to fight successfully for such a class orientation, to make the small farmer more articulate politically, to make his demands heard, listened to, and realized.

* * *

THE peoples of the Soviet Union have just concluded the first elections on the basis of the Stalin Constitution—the most democratic elections ever held anywhere at any time. The results are truly epoch-making. 96.5 per cent of all registered voters took part in the elections—90,319,346 persons out of 93,639,478. In other words, almost the entire adult nation went to the polls to register its choice for deputies. But the voters—the people—did more than that. They have demonstrated in no uncertain terms their devotion to the socialist system which made them secure and happy, to the Soviet form of government which made socialism and democracy possible, to the leadership of the Communist Party and to Comrade Stalin who led them to victory through all difficulties and dangers.

To us, in the capitalist world, this is a most encouraging and heartening demonstration. Not only to Communists who, of course, take special pride in the achievement of their brother Party, who find in this achievement fresh proof of the correctness of their Leninist program; but to all who cherish and fight for progress, who can dream of a new and liberated humanity, who hate fascism and want to preserve peace and democracy in the world—to all these the results of the Soviet elections will be a clarion call to greater exertions and more self-sacrificing struggles for these ideals.

And, in the first place, in support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union whose peoples have just demonstrated such unbreakable unity and

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determination to stand behind and support their government in the struggle for peace through collective security. And, secondly, in support of the Spanish republic and of the Chinese people. The camp of peace, progress and democracy has become immeasurably strengthened by the result of the Soviet elections.

A new type of democratic elections, *a higher type,* this is what we have just seen in operation. With no antagonistic and fighting classes, and therefore without competing and fighting parties, the results of the Soviet elections were determined by a new kind of electoral alliance, *a bloc of Communists and non-Communists,* a bloc which embraced all the active and creative forces in Soviet life and which secured the endorsement of virtually all the Soviet peoples.

Let fascism or, for that matter, any bourgeois democracy, demonstrate the same thing. They wouldn't, of course, because they couldn't. Such a bloc, a united People's Front of Communists and non-Communists which embraces practically the entire nation, cheerfully and happily following the leadership of the Communist Party, is possible only in a socialist country governed by true and genuine democracy. And this we find reflected in the composition of the elected deputies. Out of 1,143 elected deputies, according to press reports, 855 are members of the Communist Party and 288 are non-Party people. Among the deputies are 184 women.

True democracy, like socialism, is no dream. It is a reality in the Soviet Socialist Union. It is possible everywhere by the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of socialism. Forward, therefore, to the People's Front and, through it, on the road to genuine socialist democracy!

Another thing demonstrated afresh in the elections is this: that the Trotsky-Bukharin outfit is what we said it was—a fascist crew for wrecking and espionage. Not a semblance of support among the Soviet people, foreign and alien to its life and interests, a corrupt and degenerate band of spies, wreckers and assassins in the service of the fascist government—Dewey's so-called report, notwithstanding.

And, by the way, about this "report." It is a huge joke but not an innocent one. Every informed person knew right along that the so-called Mexican investigation was planned as a whitewash for Trotsky's crimes to begin with. When the Dewey commission assembled in Mexico, Trotsky and his lawyer (a known Trotskyite) at once took charge of the proceedings, dominating every move, with the so-called "Commission" (excepting Beals who resigned) sitting in awe and admiration and swallowing everything presented by Trotsky.

It was evident already then that Dewey was no more than a fifth wheel to the Trotsky wagon; or a show window (and not a very attractive one) behind which fascist spies and wreckers were carrying on their nefarious business. It might have been assumed then that the show window did not know what was going on behind its back. Now, however, such an assumption would be no longer valid. It must be assumed, on the contrary, that Dewey knows what he is doing. And what he is doing places him in the camp of the Trotskyite fascist gang-

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sters. Through his mouth flows poisonous hatred of the Soviet peoples, of their socialist achievements, of all progressive forces all over the world that stand with the Soviet Union in its struggle for peace, democracy and progress.

The Soviet Union, we assume, will be very little concerned with what Dewey says or does. But we, in America, will have to take pains to make it clear that this man Dewey, who never could work up enough indignation against the people's oppressors to step forth actively and with a bit of self-sacrifice to champion the rights of the American workers, farmers and middle classes, who was never known to have expressed in a convincing way his devotion (if he had any) to the cause of progress and democracy, that this man Dewey has now consented to become the instrument of Trotsky, the fascist agent. No honest person will want to have anything to do with this man Dewey.

* * *

WHAT is the answer—the peace answer—to the Japanese bombardment of American ships in Chinese waters and the machine-gunning of the survivors of the Panay? *It is the application of the President's Chicago speech.* It is the immediate application of such measures as will "quarantine the aggressor." The joint Congressional resolution introduced by Representative Jerry J. O'Connell of Montana as an amendment to the "Neutrality Act" will serve effectively this purpose of peace.

It is significant that the reactionary circles of the country, the jingoes and fascist sympathizers, are pooh-poohing the "incident," advising calm and deliberation, and obscuring the very grave issues involved. To them it is just "an incident" to be liquidated by the regular diplomatic procedure. But the truth is that this incident, grave as it is, is only an indication of an entire situation provoked by fascist aggression, endangering the peace of the world. This "incident" shows, furthermore, that the peace of the United States and of the world is endangered not only by fascist aggression but also by the failure of the bourgeois democratic governments to accept the policy of the Soviet Union for collective security.

The position of our own country is untenable. On the one hand, we have the "Neutrality Act" which is encouraging and helping Japan, which denies the Chinese people the help they need to defeat the Japanese aggressors. On the other hand, we have President Roosevelt's Chicago speech which calls for concerted action to "quarantine the aggressor." Is it not clear that both cannot be applied at the same time, that one negates the other, that it is absolutely imperative at least to revise the "Neutrality Act" in such a way as to begin to give effect to the President's Chicago speech? Is it not clear, furthermore, that this is the only way of meeting Japanese aggression?

O'Connell's joint resolution proposes to do that, and all possible support must be rallied behind this resolution.

That resolution will not fully meet the situation, but it will mark an important step in the right direction. At the same time the peace forces of the country, especially the "League

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of Democracy and Peace," must intensify the work for *direct support and assistance to the Chinese people and to the Spanish Republic.* This is the most urgent and burning task of the moment in the struggle for peace.

* * *

JUST a reminder to the Party organizations that the recruiting drive must be intensified, including the raising of the proportion of dues payments and more effective assimilation of the new members.

The Political Bureau proposes close and systematic review of the drive by each Party organization, strict check-up of activities, major emphasis on recruiting in the industries, special attention to recruiting from national groups, more extensive utilization for educational activities of the *Daily Worker* and of *The Communist,* a 100 per cent re-registration of our membership with special emphasis on the increase of the proportion of dues payments.

The special national recruiting drive will come to a close in each district with the Lenin Memorial meetings. The National Party Builders Delegates Congress will take place on February 17, 18, 19 and 20.

A. B.

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LENIN AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY

AN EDITORIAL

THE Lenin Memorial Days this year come in an atmosphere charged with war. The "peace-times" of capitalism are proving to be nothing but diminishing armistices. Close upon the ravagings of Manchuria, Jehol, and Ethiopia, new wars of invasion are raging in Spain and China, conflagrations that threaten to envelop the whole world. The repercussions here of the sinking of the U.S. gunboat *Panay* and three Standard Vacuum Oil boats; Britain's preparations to send units of her Mediterranean fleet to Chinese waters; the tension in Britain, France and the United States in regard to Japan's imminent encroachment upon India, Indo-China, Indonesia, and the Philippine Island; the tension in regard to Mussolini's declared program of expansion in the Mediterranean and Africa, in regard to Nazism's continental penetration, its pressure for colonial restitution, and its alarming penetration of the Western Hemisphere, evidenced most patently in the foisting of a fascist dictatorship upon the Brazilian people; and, finally, the sharpening provocations of the Japanese militarists and the Nazis against the Soviet Union—signalize the gravity of the hour.

With rising consciousness of this gravity, the illusions of neutrality and isolationism are rapidly giving way among the people. Their demand for meeting the situation *practically* in the interests of world peace is the burning issue of the hour.

LENIN'S TEACHING ON PEACE AND THE SITUATION TODAY

How shall the fight for peace be waged? How shall the vanguard of the workers, the Party of Lenin-Stalin, advance at this time the program of struggle against the war-makers?

Lenin taught, first and foremost, in relation to war, that it is necessary to approach the problem concretely. In a lecture delivered in May, 1917, he stated:

> "We Marxists do not belong to the camp of unconditional opposition to all wars. We say: our aim is the attainment of a socialist organization of society, which will do away with the division of humanity into classes, will do away with all exploitation of man by man, of one nation by another, and will inevitably do away with all possibilities of war in general. . . . There are wars and wars. It is necessary to examine from what historical conditions a given war arises, which classes lead it, and for what objectives. Without determining that, all our discourse on war becomes completely empty, purely verbal and fruitless discussion." *

As with every basic, strategic prin-

* *Collected Works,* Vol. XXX, Russian edition.

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ciple, Lenin's teaching on peace renews itself constantly in life, reaffirming, remanifesting its validity through each new, changing tactic that it engenders, dialectically, for concrete application in accordance with the alignment of social forces at a given historic moment.

Let us note the concrete conditions, the new factors that have developed in the years following the World War.

THE SOVIET UNION—FORTRESS OF PEACE

In the first place, the existence of the workers' socialist state, the fatherland of all exploited and oppressed—the Soviet Union, whose coming into being was the birth of a new world, the beginning of the struggle of two worlds. The establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the maintenance of Soviet power, for twenty years, and the victorious inauguration of the socialist society—in the midst of an encircling world of capitalism—are history's confirmation that this is at once the epoch of decaying capitalism and the epoch of proletarian revolutions and of socialist ascendancy.

The kernel of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union—an organic requisite of its socialist economy—is the purpose of peace. The proletariat uses the revolutionary power of its dictatorship both for the building of the socialist society and for the defense of world peace everywhere—indivisible peace. Of all great powers, alone non-imperialist, born through the demolition of an empire, the Soviet state rose from the first a veritable fortress of peace. It battled its way into being with the slogan: *Peace! Bread! Land!*

On the very morrow of the proletarian revolution, on November 8, 1917, the newly established workers' and peasants' government adopted its famous Decree on Peace, submitted by Lenin, calling "upon all the belligerent nations and their governments to start immediate negotiations for a just, democratic peace," which it defined as an immediate peace without annexations and indemnities.

Further making clear the just, democratic basis upon which the Soviet government was proposing an immediate armistice, the document declared:

> "The government considers it the greatest crime against humanity to continue this war for the purpose of dividing up among the strong and rich nations the feeble nationalities they have conquered, and solemnly announces its determination immediately to sign terms of peace to stop this war on the conditions indicated, which are equally just for all nationalities without exception."

Consistently and indefatigably—against all the blockades, provocations, plottings, sabotage, and interventions—the Soviet peace policy, symbolizing the indestructible power of a united people, has prevailed, in the interests of the peoples of the entire world. It is only thanks to the alliances for non-aggression and mutual assistance that the Soviet government has established with powers and weaker nations against the fascists, thanks to the international, mass sentiment which it has rallied around its peace policy, that mankind is not engulfed today in another world war. Outer Mongolia today is not a Manchukuo—only because of the support it finds in the Soviet peace policy, enunciated so magnificently by Comrade Stalin:

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"Our foreign policy is clear. It is a policy of preserving peace and strengthening commercial relations with all countries. The U.S.S.R. does not think of threatening anybody—let alone attacking anybody. We stand for peace and champion the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of the threats and are prepared to answer blow for blow against the instigators of war. Those who want peace and are striving for business intercourse with us will always receive our support. And those who try to attack our country—will receive a stunning rebuff to teach them not to poke their pig's snout into our Soviet garden again."

The Soviet Union's consistent, generous solidarity with the epic struggles for democracy have made the words *Lenin, Stalin,* and *Soviet* dear to the heart of every Spanish man, woman and child, fighting for independence and the democracy of their land; dear to the hearts of scores of millions of Chinese peasants, workers, and intellectuals joined in armed resistance to Japanese aggression and for the achievement of an independent, free, and happy Chinese republic. The Soviet principle of indivisible peace and isolation of the aggressor through collective security, boldly enunciated over a long period of time at the League of Nations and every international diplomatic conference in which the U.S.S.R. participated, is being adopted increasingly by the democratic forces in the world, and was embodied in the recent pronouncements of President Roosevelt when he raised the slogan: "Quarantine the aggressor!"

The existence of the Soviet Union gives to the struggle for peace everywhere an inspiration, a direction, and a perspective for victory never before known in history.

FASCISM IS WAR

A second new factor present in the situation today is the advent of fascism, which, due to the reformist and splitting tactics of Social-Democracy, has gained victories in a number of great and lesser bourgeois states, and is pushing its offensive throughout the capitalist world. With a gangster ferocity unknown before in history, it is attempting to foist its power upon new lands. Driven on by the desperation of acute domestic instability, it makes its encroachments with armies of penetration and of open invasion upon the soil of weaker nations. *Banditti,* outside of the pale of any form of civilization, the fascist marauders violate the integrity of other lands, rain death from planes on civilians and hospitals, butcher captive populations, devastate towns and countryside, without even the formality of a declaration of war! Fascism is war; the war incendiaries today are Nazi Germany, fascist Italy, and the fascist-militarists of Japan. These are the principal instigators of war and the spearhead of the attack of world reaction upon the Soviet Union, as they have officially proclaimed themselves in their infamous "Anti-Comintern" Pact.

The struggle against war today must be conducted as the people's struggle against fascism, against the chief instigators of war, by isolating, checking, and decisively defeating the fascist aggressors, the forces of Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese militarists, at the same time developing the struggle for democracy, to higher stages, in the direction of socialism; it must be conducted by mass pressure

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upon the governments in bourgeois-democratic states for active collaboration with the peace policy of the Soviet Union. In this way, the struggle for peace becomes identical with the struggle for democracy.

THE PEOPLE'S FRONT TACTIC TO DEFEAT THE FASCIST WAR DRIVE

The central tactic for checking and crushing fascism is the People's Front—advanced by the Communist International at its Seventh Congress in 1935, on the basis of specific experiences of the working class—experiences of disunity and unpreparedness, as in Germany, Austria, Spain, and experiences of unified, mass, armed repulsion of a fascist onslaught for the seizure of power, exemplified in the world-heartening February days of 1934, in France. Embodying the progressive forces in every country, based on the alliance of working class, farmers, small businessmen, and professionals, the People's Front is the new historic factor on the side of peace. Its great advances in Spain, China, and France, as well as the rapid development of this alignment in the United States and other countries, and the manifestations of popular front currents in the fascist countries themselves, are writ large in the world's history of the past two years.

The initiating and sustaining class force in the People's Front is the proletariat, as it develops the united front and trade union consolidation. With the Soviet Union, the mass peace movements of the international proletariat constitute the two most powerful forces for world peace. With mighty strides the working class is coming forward as the powerful, leading component of the popular front for democracy and peace. The great advances toward the complete unification of the working class in Spain and in France have given an impetus to the process of working class unification in other lands.

In the United States today, the giant C.I.O. movement, expressive of the workers' long-felt and increasingly urgent need for organization in progressive industrial unions, has as its task, along with organizing the still unorganized workers, the consolidation of labor's forces in progressive trade union unity, and, thus, through the magnetic power of labor's combined strength, draw around it the farming population and the city middle class groups, into an effective People's Front for democracy and peace.

In the course of the developing People's Front, the vanguard of the proletariat, staunchly promoting and cementing the popular front forces, grows in influence and organized strength among the masses, and prepares them for higher stages of struggle. The Party of Lenin-Stalin first warned the people against the war moves of the reactionaries and launched the slogan for collective security against the fascist aggressor. The existence today of powerful Communist Parties, sectors of the Communist International, armed with the Leninist teachings, alters vastly the situation in favor of the masses as compared to the years of the World War, when Social-Democracy betrayed the interests of the world proletariat through capitulation to imperialism; when only in Russia was there a Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of

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Lenin, to expose and fight the treacherous position of the Second International leadership and the criminal waverings and political jockeyings of Trotsky and Co.

THE COLONIAL PEOPLES AND THE SMALLER CAPITALIST STATES

Another important factor in the fight for peace is the colonial and semi-colonial peoples, whose developing resistance to imperialist subjugation is magnificently symbolized in China today, in the mighty anti-Japanese national front. The struggle for peace on the part of the Chinese people, the armed resistance to the fascist-militarist invaders, is an integral part of the national revolutionary struggles of all colonial and semi-colonial peoples for complete liberation from imperialist subjection, an integral part of the struggle for emancipation waged by all the laboring peoples and the oppressed in the entire capitalist world. The outcome of the struggle today in China is decisive for the forces of socialism, peace, and progress throughout the world.

In the capitalist world proper, there are the smaller countries whose sovereignty is threatened by the fascist powers, and whose destiny as autonomous states depends on their popular fronts at home, and on their collaboration with the Soviet Union. Czechoslovakia today would not be possessed of the fortitude and power to block Nazi penetration, were it not for these two factors. Spain would long ago have been a European Ethiopia, but for its heroic People's Front, but for the aid it has received from the world working class and People's Front movements, but for the superb solidarity of the Soviet Union.

THE STATUS QUO POSITION OF BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC POWERS

Finally, there are those great bourgeois-democratic powers—the major victor powers of the World War—France, the United States, and, in a special way, England, whose capitalist interests today motivate them, to varying extents, against embroilment in war and for the status quo. Not that these imperialist powers have in any way altered their essentially predatory character, but that specific reasons inherent in the world situation today actuate these powers for the present to seek time in which to strengthen their positions—hence, they do not make the drive to war their *immediate* policy.

At present, therefore, these powers represent a factor that, however temporarily and conditionally, is favorable for the struggle for peace, serviceable in the defense of peace. This is fundamentally true, notwithstanding the contradictions and vacillations that have marked the recent foreign policies of these powers, and even in England's case, notwithstanding the subterfuges and double-dealings which, in their result, favor the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo war triangle. These vacillations and subterfuges are, of course, explainable by the inter-imperialist rivalries, of which the Anglo-American is the deepest-going; the conflicts which continually bring the different bourgeois groups in each land to antithetical positions in regard to immediate policy; the basic antagonism of the capitalist world to the Soviet Union; the col-

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lusion of the reactionary monopoly capitalists in the status quo lands with the fascist states, through their common fear of the rising popular fronts, and in their common preparation of war against the Soviet Union. Thus, we have seen manifested the perfidious accommodation to the fascist triple war bloc on the part of Britain's Tory government; the weaknesses of the Chautemps government with its repeated yieldings to the pressure of British foreign policy and to that of France's "Two Hundred Families" acting in collusion with the British Tories.

In the United States, on the other hand, the government's blundering "neutrality" policy is now increasingly giving way, under President Roosevelt's progressive leadership, to recognition of the need for collective security. The Neutrality Act of May, 1937, with its provisions for an embargo on the export of munitions to countries at war, but for permission to export unlimited quantities of raw materials (*i.e.*, materials convertible into munitions) to cash-paying belligerents on condition that such materials are transported in non-American ships, has proved in practice an act of alliance with the powerful aggressor states against such assaulted peoples as those of Ethiopia, Spain, and China. Roosevelt's famous Chicago speech which, by the clearest implication, isolated and branded the German-Italian-Japanese fascist-militarist powers as the aggressors, and called for their quarantining, voiced clearly the growing mass disillusionment with the pseudo-neutrality which had resulted in encouraging and emboldening the fascists in their war drive.

It is imperative for the forces of the working class and its allies to make use of the basically favorable possibilities in the camp of the bourgeoisie. Only the naive "purists" and the "Left"-disguised betrayers will set themselves against this practical necessity. Let us view the needs of today in the light of what Lenin wrote:

> "It is possible to conquer this more powerful enemy only by exerting our efforts to the utmost and by more *necessarily*, thoroughly, carefully, attentively, and skillfully taking advantage of every 'fissure,' however small, in the ranks of our enemies, of every antagonism of interests among the various groups or types of bourgeoisie in the various countries; by taking advantage of every possibility, however small, of gaining an ally among the masses, even though this ally be temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable, and conditional. Those who do not understand this, do not understand even a grain of Marxism and of scientific modern socialism *in general*." *

ISOLATION ABETS WAR—COLLECTIVE ACTION WILL SECURE PEACE

Leninism presents the test: What mode of action on the part of the working class will best rally the masses to defeat the forces of reaction, fascism, and war, and will best promote the proletariat's leading role in developing the struggle for democracy and peace toward the stage of the struggle for socialism?

The advance of the working class toward hegemony can proceed only when the masses are set in motion around issues of vital concern which provide a common basis of action for

* "*Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder.*

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proletariat, farmers, petty bourgeoisie, and all progressives. At this hour, the basic struggle for the socialist objective demands the checking of fascist-militaristic encroachments, *the defeat of the war-makers of today*. Do we, however, give up or in any way weaken the Leninist principle? On the contrary, we prepare the masses *for the concrete mode and moment* of its application.

The fascist-linked Trotskyites, with their heritage of pro-imperialist opposition to Lenin's anti-war strategy, and with their main aim to bring about the destruction of the Soviet Union, today try to block the strategy of collective security for defeating the fascist war-makers, by demagogically raising the cry that Communism has "abandoned" the Leninist struggle for socialism. Their "arguments" indeed are echoed by Hearst and Liberty League spokesmen, who share with them this great "concern" for the purity of Communism. Unfortunately, numbers of Socialists and liberals are caught on this Trotskyite hook, rendering themselves completely ineffectual in the struggle for peace and democracy, and objectively aiding the fascist war-makers.

Thus, we find Norman Thomas filled with apprehensions in regard to Roosevelt's slogan for concerted action to quarantine the aggressors, and in regard to the "tragic end" which is in store for "Stalin's reversal of Lenin's policy on the issue of war and of alliance with capitalist nations for war." (*Socialist Call*, Dec. 4, 1937.)

And Dos Passos, with a Trotskyite pushing his pen, writes "in behalf of" Spain:

> "After all we must remember where our enthusiasm for brave little Belgium led us. The great danger in letting our enthusiasm for fighting fascism in Europe get the better of us is that it shows every sign of being the first trickle of a flood of irrational emotion that may well end in our fighting another war for the defense of the British empire and the top-dog capitalist bloc of nations." (*Common Sense*, December, 1937.)

Let us examine these and similar contentions in behalf of isolationism.

Let us, indeed, take up the argument about Belgium. Whose "enthusiasm for brave little Belgium" does the word "our" imply? Certainly, it can have no reference to those who, in the World War, were deserving of the name Socialist. To place the onus for the World War on "our enthusiasm" for Belgium means to exonerate imperialism from that burden. Perhaps if Dos Passos took his cue more from disillusioned American doughboys and less from Trotskyite tricksters, we would not have his "reasoning" identify him with the outlook of imperialism. How well it would be for such isolationists to bear in mind what Lenin had to say in regard to enthusiasm for Belgium:

> "The social-chauvinists of the Triple (now Quadruple) Entente (in Russia, Plekhanov and Co.), love to refer to the example of Belgium. This example speaks against them. The German imperialists shamelessly violated Belgian neutrality; this has always and everywhere been the practice of warring nations which, in the case of necessity, trample upon *all* treaties and obligations. Suppose all nations interested in maintaining international treaties declared war against Germany, demanding the liberation and indemnification of Belgium. In this case the sympathy of the Socialists would naturally be on the side of Germany's enemies. The truth, however, is that the war is being waged by the 'Triple'

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(and Quadruple) Entente *not* for the sake of Belgium. This is well known and only the hypocrites conceal it." *

Here Lenin gives us the key to understanding the present world situation. The interests of progress and socialism would have justified and demanded the alliance against the aggressor of all labor and democratic forces, if there had been a situation of genuine defense of a weaker state. But precisely during the World War, when such a situation did not exist, the dominant leaders of Social-Democracy became "enthusiastic" for Belgium—in alliance with their respective national aggressors.

Today, the contradictions of imperialism, based on the accelerated uneven development of capitalism, result in that differentiation which brings certain powers—to wit, Germany, Italy, and Japan—forward on a world scale as the prime war instigators. Through the same factors, the status quo powers are brought to block the aggressors' path, and thus temporarily to serve the peace interests of the weaker countries. At such a time these "enthusiasts" for "brave little Belgium" desert and betray the real Belgiums of today. This is where the Trotskyite accomplices of fascism are leading the Thomases and the Dos Passoses.

Lenin's policies were directed against all the imperialist belligerent powers, which, in the World War, were *equally* aggressor powers, equally war-incendiaries and instigators. Those policies must today likewise be directed against the aggressor imperialist powers, *the fascist dictatorships.* Thus, whether the invaded land is colonial, semi-colonial, semi-capitalist, or capitalist, in relation to the basic alignment of the fascist powers against the rest of the world, the interests of democracy and peace bring the *rest of the world* imperatively into struggle for defeat of fascism. The interests of progress and socialism justify and demand *today* the alliance against the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo arc, the gangster-powers of the "Anti-Comintern" Pact.

It is against these interests—whether they know it or not—that isolationists and, *as regards fascism, pacifists,* warning us lest the "great danger in letting our enthusiasm for fighting fascism get the better of us," are working. They have on their side the suasion of that "prince of peace," William Randolph Hearst, whose press at this moment emits the shriek: "Neither do we want to be part of England's colonial troops in Asia, nor do we want our fleet to be her auxiliary navy. . .", and work itself into hysteria against "entangling alliances with Red Russia and Red China," against "acting as schoolmasters to fascist nations. . . ." (*New York Journal-American,* December 23, 1937.)

(And it is not accidental that the Trotskyite "logic" which brings certain isolationists against "entangling alliances" with the Chinese and Spanish peoples, which brings them against collective security to defeat the fascist aggressors, should also bring them to match Hearst almost word for word in slander of the greatest peace force in the world today, the Soviet Union.)

* V. I. Lenin, "The Imperialist War," *Collected Works,* Vol. XVIII, p. 225, International Publishers, New York.

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Children know that the British Empire will endeavor to utilize the situation for itself. But it is precisely "another war for the defense of the British Empire" that can be obviated *only* by the international People's Front formations in conjunction with the collective action of the bourgeois-democratic states collaborating with the Soviet peace policy, in behalf of China and Spain, to check the precipitation of another world war. It must be clear that economic and political sanctions on the part of this alliance, supported by the people's boycott, *could* halt Japan's incursions into China as well as the Italo-German invasion of Spain. Such action *could* call the bluff of the fascist dictatorships and prevent the immediate catastrophe of world war. Only such action would, by defeating the war policy of fascism, bring eruptions of the pent-up swelling discontent within the fascist countries; would give crucial impetus to the development of the People's Fronts in those countries, connecting them with similar movements throughout the world. Collective security is truly based on the principle of international proletarian solidarity. It brings together in a common front against the aggressors not only the workers in the socialist fatherland and the bourgeois-democratic countries, but also the proletarians under the terrorist dictatorship of fascism.

This is the meaning of the Leninist policy on peace and war today. This is the meaning of the historic tactical line advanced for the world working class and its allies by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

AS TO THE ISSUE OF REFERENDUM

An issue fraught with much confusion and danger is the injection into the situation of the Ludlow Bill, which requires a national referendum before a declaration of war by Congress, except in the case of invasion by a foreign aggressor. Overnight the isolationists have made this Bill their *cause celebre.*

The Ludlow Bill, and similar proposals advanced as measures for peace, must pass through the acid test: Will they help to check the fascist aggressor, the incendiary of today? It would be a mistake to discuss such bills as an abstract issue of popular democracy. Undoubtedly, naive, though well-meaning, pacifists, but much more, demagogues acting in behalf of fascism, will endeavor to exploit this issue falsely on the basis of "democracy." But what should be the answer of all true fighters for peace, of all true champions of democracy? Not to allow the issue of referendum to be dragged in the mire in the interests of the fascist war-makers, not to allow the public attention to be distracted from the concrete program of securing peace through collective action.

Such an amendment would prove no guarantee whatever against our being drawn into war. Armed with many powers to manipulate foreign affairs, the government could precipitate a war before the people could say "Jack Robinson." What better instance do we need than that of the Wilson administration with its manner of waging war in Mexico and with its maneuvering the people into the

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World War, after their mandate, as clear as any referendum, "to keep us out of war"? Let us remember too, that wars nowadays are waged without being declared. Thus, there could be a Ludlow referendum on the statute books, and *at the same time,* an undeclared war in progress.

Such measures are instruments of deception, actually frauds, whether or not their supporters are aware of it. Stripped of its "democracy and peace" demagogy, the Ludlow Bill is shown to be anti-democratic, in that it does not give the people real power to check war; and anti-peace, in that it blocks action for collective security.

The Bill is looked to by the arch-reactionaries of America to create an atmosphere of division and mistrust between the people and the Roosevelt administration precisely at the moment when the President has come out four-square for collective security against the fascist aggressors. It is designed, not in the interests of registering the people's voice, but in the hopes that a long, drawn-out process of referendum will gain time for the fascist aggressors and their friends on American soil. The confused liberals in the House and the Senate who lend their support to this Bill are pawns in the game of the plotters and perpetrators of war.

Let us answer the promoters of this confusion by truly translating the peace sentiments and the intrinsic democracy of the American people into active popular support for the Roosevelt collective security policy, for checking and decisively defeating the forces of reaction, fascism, and war everywhere.

THE PROGRAM OF STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

The fight against the demagogic Ludlow Bill must be conducted in a positive way, with measures that will strengthen the people's democratic power for *control of foreign policy.* If the present interests of the fascist-minded monopolies are allowed to dominate the government's foreign policy, in the direction of "neutrality," then war is on the order of the day. If, on the other hand, the people press the government to follow the policy of collective security embodied in Roosevelt's Chicago speech, then the war danger is defeated and the possibilities for peace are increased.

The present moment requires a program of practical, immediate mass action which alone can break the tightening grip of war and give the death-blow to fascism; which alone can guarantee the people of Spain the right to maintain their democratically elected Popular Front government, and to China its independence as a free, democratic republic; which alone can advance and accelerate the struggle for socialism:

1. Immediate measures to check fascist aggression. This means naming, branding, and isolating the Japanese militarists, fascist Italy, and Nazi Germany as violators of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, as aggressor states.

2. Economic sanctions against these states. This means the employment of embargoes on war supplies, raw materials, loans, and credits—the cutting off of all trade, both export and import, until all the troops, naval and air forces of the aggressors are

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withdrawn from invaded Chinese and Spanish territories.

3. The breaking off of all diplomatic and political intercourse with these states until such time when they cease their aggression.

4. The opening of our markets to China and Loyalist Spain, to all victims of aggression. This means maintaining normal, commercial relations with these countries, supplying ammunition to their governments, and extending to them credits and loans.

5. To facilitate these measures, the effective revision, on the basis of Congressman Jerry O'Connell's Peace Bill, of the existing Neutrality Act, the ineffectuality of which, as an instrument for peace, has been implicitly admitted in President Roosevelt's Chicago speech and subsequent declarations.

6. Joint action by the United States government with the other democratic states interested in preserving peace, and in conjunction with the Soviet peace policy, to promote the universal application of the measures in the interests of collective security.

7. Full popular support of the Roosevelt administration in its steps to bring about such collective action by all the democratic nations.

8. Independent popular action against the fascist aggressors and against their reactionary abettors in our land. The extension of the principal weapon in this campaign—the people's boycott of Japanese goods and organized labor's prevention of the manufacture and transportation of war supplies to Japan and insurgent Spain.

This campaign calls for the adoption of boycott resolutions by trade unions and other mass organizations.

It calls for the refusal on the part of seamen and longshoremen to load or unload Japanese vessels and the vessels of other countries carrying ammunition, or raw material convertible into ammunition, to Japan or rebel Spain.

It calls for the setting up of boycott committees everywhere, in all organizations, in all neighborhoods.

It calls for monster boycott demonstrations, boycott parades, and indignation rallies.

It calls for the collection of funds to help the Spanish victims of fascist invasion and the Chinese refugees and victims of Japanese military aggression.

We must make our slogans resound through the land:

Drive the Japanese Robbers From China!

Boycott Japanese Goods!

Close Down Japan's Sources of Raw Materials!

All Support to the Heroic Chinese People Fighting to Free Their Land of Barbarian Invaders!

All Support to the Spanish Government!

Every Aid to the Spanish People for the Defeat of the Fascist Invaders!

Japan, Italy, and Germany Must Be Stopped!

Full Collaboration of the Democratic Countries with the Soviet Peace Policy!

Keep America Out of War by Keeping War Out of the World!

In applying this program, let us remember Lenin's words:

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"It is much more difficult—and much more useful—to be a revolutionary when the conditions for direct, open, really mass and really revolutionary struggle have *not yet* matured, to be able to defend the interests of the revolution (by propaganda, agitation and organization) in non-revolutionary bodies and even in reactionary bodies, in non-revolutionary circumstances, among the masses who are incapable of immediately appreciating the necessity for revolutionary methods of action. The main task of contemporary Communism in Western Europe and America is to acquire the ability to seek, to find, to determine correctly the concrete path, or the particular turn of events that will *bring* the masses *right up* to the real, decisive, last, and great revolutionary struggle." *

* *Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder.*

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LESSONS OF THE NEW YORK ELECTIONS *

BY CHARLES KRUMBEIN
New York State Secretary of the Communist Party

I

THE recent New York city and state election campaign is so rich with lessons that it can be well said to have been a laboratory where the line of the Communist Party for building the People's Front was tested. As such, it deserves the most careful study by our Party and all other forces interested in building an effective, nationwide, labor-progressive movement, an American People's Front.

Recognizing the national and even the international importance of the New York elections, the State Committee of our Party met shortly after the June plenum of our Central Committee and worked out a line for the city campaign. Our line was, in brief, that reaction, which in New York City means Tammany Hall, supported by the Liberty Leaguers, must be defeated at all costs. The only way this could be done, the State Committee agreed, was by a broad labor-progressive coalition.

This line the State Committee announced in a statement (*Daily Worker,* July 9, 1937), from which we quote:

"In New York the reactionaries are gathering their forces in an effort to bring reaction into power this coming fall. They can and must be defeated! This can be achieved by the progressives uniting their forces on a common program and going into the election campaign as a united force. . . .

"The New York city election is of national significance as a test of strength between the reactionaries and progressive forces. It may determine the 1938 elections and thus heavily influence the 1940 Presidential elections. . . .

"The possibilities exist to weld the existing progressive sentiment of the city into a solid progressive bloc that can win in the coming elections. *What we need is a united labor-progressive front against reaction, a front of all the common people that will insure victory over reaction.* . . .

"The Communist Party of New York, seeing as the main issue for the coming elections the struggle between progress and reaction, will do everything within its means to help realize the *united labor-progressive front against reaction.* We call upon all progressive elements in New York to do likewise. The American Labor Party can play an especially important part in bringing about this common front of progressives for the election struggle."

From everything that has developed since that statement of policy was issued it is clear that the line of our Party in the elections has been proved correct. Today there is a different po-

* Based on a report delivered to a meeting of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party, Nov. 21, 1937.

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litical atmosphere in New York. The American Labor Party has emerged as the balance-of-power party in the city and state. The city administration is literally beholden to the A.L.P. for its election—LaGuardia's majority was 452,000; the A.L.P. received a total of 482,000 votes for LaGuardia. A solid bloc of six of the 26 city councilmen are Laborities, four of them trade union leaders, three C.I.O., and one A. F. of L. In the State Assembly there will be seven Laborites, including, for the first time, one Puerto Rican Assemblyman from Harlem, Oscar Garcia Rivera.

New York, which had been something of a contradiction, with the most progressive and advanced working class in the country, with 800,000 organized workers, with the strongest Communist and Socialist Parties, with the strongest and most articulate liberal middle class, had up to recently always been governed by the classic symbol of municipal reaction and corruption, Tammany Hall. Until the last elections, no labor representative had been elected to any city post since 1919-20. Today that situation has been considerably changed.

In working out our line for the elections we kept in mind, not only the peculiar local circumstances under which we had to work—the special factor that the most reactionary machine was the Democratic organization, Tammany, which is just the reverse of the national picture—but the entire national and international setting in which the city elections were placed. The State Committee approached the election as an integral part of the whole national and international struggle of progress against reaction, of democracy versus fascism. Reaction, which had been so overwhelmingly defeated in November, 1936, was seeking to stage a comeback in the city elections as a prelude to a nationwide attempt to cancel the people's mandate of the year before. But reaction was defeated and therefore the result of the city elections is a big step forward of the 1936 election results.

From the very beginning we set ourselves the task of encouraging and helping to build that broad type of labor-progressive coalition which could defeat Tammany and all other reactionary forces. Whom did we see as the reactionary forces and whom as the progressive forces? In general, it was our estimate that the same reactionary forces who had ganged up on Roosevelt in the 1936 campaign would be found on the Tammany side in the 1937 mayoralty elections. The same forces, on the whole, who supported Roosevelt in 1936, we calculated, would be on the side of the progressive forces. Among the reactionaries we found the Liberty League, Hearst, the Republican reactionaries and the Tammany machine, which, despite occasional lip service, is bitterly anti-Roosevelt and anti-New Deal. On the progressive side were the American Labor Party, Fusion, progressive Republicans, New Deal Democrats, the forces of the C.I.O., the A. F. of L. unions, the Communist Party, and large numbers of former Socialist Party supporters.

This labor-progressive coalition was formed. We ourselves could not foresee that there would be such an all-inclusive coalition. The ticket of the A.L.P., which we supported, was

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composed of persons nominally Republican, Democratic, Fusion, and straight A.L.P. It was thus able to group around itself not only the more progressive or radical voters but also masses of traditionally Democratic voters.

II

The results of the election can be summarized briefly under five chief headings:

1. The defeat of reaction and Tammany.

2. The growth of the American Labor Party and the movement toward a People's Front.

3. The growing strength and importance of the Communist Party within the progressive movement and the city as a whole.

4. The bankruptcy of the Socialist Party's policy.

5. The weakness of the Republican Party.

Let us discuss each of these separately:

1. Not only was the Tammany candidate defeated at this election—the first time in the city's history that a non-Tammany candidate has been re-elected—but Tammany was dealt a smashing blow. In 1933 the Democratic organization was split; but the two Democratic candidates who ran against LaGuardia received between them the majority of the votes, totalling 1,195,000, while LaGuardia received 868,500. In 1937, with an ostensibly united organization, Tammany candidate Jeremiah T. Mahoney got 889,000 votes, a drop of 306,000 votes.

Thus, a united Democratic organization received a stunning setback, with most of its losses going to the A.L.P. For the first time in twenty years it lost its strategic stronghold—the District Attorney's office of Manhattan County—and to a labor-supported nominee, Thomas E. Dewey. Tammany also lost the Manhattan Borough President's office, also a source of lucrative patronage in the past. In the City Council, the Democrats won by a narrow majority, 14 to 12, principally because the anti-Tammany forces were not as united as they were on the citywide candidates.

Nevertheless, Tammany still has considerable strength, both from the point of view of the many offices it still holds (judicial, county, etc.), and of its popular vote. The 889,000 votes it received for its mayoralty candidate certainly are nothing to sneeze at, but even more do its assemblymanic votes indicate its strength in the districts. While Tammany lost more than 300,000 votes for Mayor between 1933 and 1937, it lost only 91,000 for the various Assembly candidates. In fact, while it lost all three offices in the citywide ticket—Mayor, Comptroller and President of the City Council—it won 50 out of the 63 Assemblymen in the city. Large numbers of these voters are for progressive policies; they voted for Tammany because it was still able to impress them as being the New Deal party of New York. It is therefore clear that there is still considerable work to be done to win the great mass of Democratic voters away from Tammany, particularly in Irish Catholic districts, where it still shows remarkable strength.

There are a few important lessons as regards the vote in Harlem. LaGuardia carried every Assembly District in the Harlem territory! In the six assembly districts (17th to 22nd

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inclusive), he polled 81,000 in round numbers (about 60 per cent), to Mahoney's 48,000. In the two predominantly Negro Assembly Districts, the 19th and the 21st, LaGuardia polled 65.5 per cent of the total vote.

The Negro people show political alertness, and a knowledge of issues. They were very much tied to one party for a long time. Last year they voted overwhelmingly for Roosevelt. This year they voted overwhelmingly for LaGuardia, the Labor-Republican-Fusion candidate, which shows that the Negro people are no longer tied to any political party. They are ready for the People's Front.

Several progressive Assemblymen were elected from Harlem territory, particularly Oscar Garcia Rivera in the 17th A.D. We can say that his election is due not only to our Party's initiating a People's Front movement in this strong Tammany District, made up of a large majority of Spanish-speaking people, but that his 2,500 majority is little more than the total vote received by the Communist candidate a year ago. If we allow for increased prestige and strength of the Communist Party, we can say it was the Communist vote that elected this progressive in the 17th A.D.

2. The growth of the Labor Party is clearly indicated by the character of its campaign and the results. While in 1936 it had only two candidates, President Roosevelt and Governor Lehman, in 1937 it placed a full slate in the field, being the first to nominate Mayor LaGuardia. In most districts it ran its own Assemblymen, and for the City Council nominated seven candidates.

The total American Labor Party vote jumped from 239,000 in 1936 to 482,000 in 1937, a leap of 102 per cent. The A.L.P. elected seven Assemblymen, and five Councilmen (one elected Fusionist joined after election). The city vote and percentages follow:

	Votes Cast	*% of Total*
For LaGuardia		
Republican	672,823*	30.12
A.L.P.	482,459	21.6
Fusion	159,895	7.15
Progressive	28,839	1.29
For Mahoney		
Democratic	875,942	39.21
Trade Union Party	7,163	0.32
Anti-Communist	6,486	0.29

While the American Labor Party contributed 36 per cent of the total LaGuardia vote in the city, in the Bronx, a predominantly working class borough, it contributed 50.8 per cent, and in Kings, also predominantly working class, over 40 per cent.

In the Bronx, a Labor Party candidate, Isidore Nagler, Vice-President of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, was defeated for the Borough Presidency by only 30,000 votes, with the reactionary Republicans running a candidate to split the progressive forces, and after a frantic campaign by the Democratic county machine, featured by the vilest sort of anti-Semitic undercurrents.

3. The growing strength and importance of the Communist Party within the progressive movement of the city as a whole was indicated by

* The relatively large Republican vote is explained in part by the fact that the Republican Party was the first party on the machine (Row B) on which LaGuardia's name appeared. Many voters, seeking LaGuardia's name, pulled down the lever for him on the first line that could be found, which was Row "B." The normal Republican strength is closer to 500,000.

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the Party's vote. The Party, following its line of support of the A.L.P., placed no candidates in the field in opposition to A.L.P. nominees. It nominated only four councilmen—I. Amter in Manhattan; Peter V. Cacchione in Brooklyn; I. Begun in the Bronx, and Paul Crosbie in Queens. Under the system of proportional representation, known familiarly as "P.R.," and preferential voting, it was possible for Communist voters to express their preference for Communists, and give their second choice vote to Laborites without in any way weakening the Labor Party. Thus we were able to bring forward the slogan of "Vote Labor and Communist" in an effective and concrete manner.

This slogan, as the results show, was understood by the labor and progressive movements in the city. Our Party vote was approximately 74,000, and was divided in the following fashion:

Manhattan (Amter)	18,325
Bronx (Begun)	20,946
Brooklyn (Cacchione)	30,235
Queens (Crosbie)	4,609

This, of course, refers only to the first choice votes. Actually, at the time when our candidates were declared eliminated, the combined totals of first, second, and third choice votes rose to more than 90,000. With the second, third, or other choice votes cast for Communist candidates on the ballots of the A.L.P. candidates who were elected (which were therefore not counted), as well as of some of the other progressives, it is estimated that about 130,000 voters indicated some preference for the Communist candidates, as first, second, third, or other choice.

However, considering only the first choice votes cast for the Party candidates—and even this is not a fair indication of our strength, since many Communist voters who did not understand P.R. voted No. 1 for an A.L.P. candidate—our increase over 1936, when 64,436 votes were cast for Comrade Amter for President of the Board of Aldermen, is about 15 per cent. The percentage rise on a borough (county) scale follows:

Manhattan	16.5
Brooklyn	18.4
Bronx	5.5
Queens	36

This increase is important. But perhaps even more impressive was the splendid discipline displayed by the Communist voters. In Manhattan, for example, of Comrade Amter's votes, more than 14,000 second choice votes were transferred to Laborite B. Charney Vladeck, thus insuring his election. This block of votes was about 75 per cent of Amter's first choice votes, showing clearly that the Communist voters cast their ballots in a disciplined and intelligent fashion, entirely in line with the Party slogan, "Vote Labor and Communist." In the Bronx, 90 per cent of Comrade Begun's vote was transferred to the A.L.P. candidates, Michael J. Quill, President of the Transport Workers Union, and Salvatore Ninfo, Vice-President of the I.L.G.W.U., also materially helping their election. The same held true in the other boroughs. This demonstrated beyond question that the Communist Party did not play an "opposition" role in the elections, but was a constructive supporting force that strengthened the A.L.P.

4. In sharp contrast to the strength

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demonstrated by our Party was the demonstration of complete bankruptcy of the Socialist Party policy. Despite endorsement by the Seabury Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee, the Citizens' Union, the A.L.P., and the *New York Times*, as well as other papers, Harry Laidler, the Socialist candidate in Brooklyn, finished the first count in twelfth place, with 18,587 first choice votes, nearly 12,000 behind Cacchione, who wound up the first count in fifth place.

In Manhattan the results were worse for the Socialists. S. John Block, candidate for Councilman, got the same endorsements as did Laidler, but finished twenty-fifth in a field of 47, with a total of 4,832 first choice votes, about 13,500 behind Amter, who closed in eleventh place. The Socialist Party total was under 30,000 for its three councilmanic candidates, and about 22,500 for its citywide candidate for comptroller.

The comparative table for the Communist and Socialist Party votes for 1936 and 1937 shows the following:

	Communist	*Socialist*
1936	64,436	55,698
1937	74,000	30,000
1936 percentage of total valid votes	2.25	1.9
1937 percentage of total valid votes	3.99	1.6
Percentage of A.L.P. Mayoralty votes	15.4	6.2

This demonstrates clearly the outcome of the Trotskyite policy within the Socialist Party—steady, systematic decline in influence. These are clearly the fruits of the anti-People's Front policy of the Socialist Party.

Our Party did not run in competition with the A.L.P., but we had our own platform and carried on mass propaganda through meetings, leaflets, speakers, shop papers, and, especially, through 55 radio broadcasts. Our slogan, "Vote Labor and Communist!" helped considerably to pile up the A.L.P. vote and to increase our influence and our vote. Our very boldness and frankness, the statement of our position openly that our Party is the Party of socialism tremendously improved our relationship with all labor and progressive forces.

One of our comrades must be singled out for the especially good work, because of the lessons it gives, although all the candidates carried on a splendid campaign. I refer to Comrade Pete Cacchione, Executive Secretary of the Kings County Committee of the Party. Pete had faith in the possibility of electing a Communist to the City Council, and managed to imbue the Brooklyn comrades with the same determination and courage and fight, virtually electrifying the whole Party. As is known, he was "nosed out" by a Republican candidate by only 245 votes under circumstances that are extremely suspicious and are now being investigated. The Brooklyn campaign must prove to all that Communists can now be elected. A big factor of the Brooklyn success was the campaigning around the local day-to-day issues and the taking of the campaign to the entire population.

5. Despite the apparent growth of the Republican Party, as a superficial examination of the figures might indicate, in actual life there is no such growth. The Republican Party elected only three City Councilmen, one each

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in Manhattan, Queens and Brooklyn. It is clear that the Republican Party strength is considerably lower than that indicated by its vote for LaGuardia, since it cashed in to a considerable degree on his popularity.

The New York City elections offer an instructive contrast to another city election, that of Detroit. In Detroit there was a labor ticket, a narrow labor ticket, composed almost entirely of members of one union, the United Automobile Workers Union of America. Our Party six months ago called attention to this problem, but we were not able to change the situation. Unfortunately, the Lovestoneites and Trotskyites, with their anti-People's Front line, did have some effect on the situation. However, while the labor ticket was defeated in Detroit, there was a tremendous victory for labor. No one can gainsay that. In Detroit, labor polled a bigger percentage—35 per cent—of the total vote than did labor in New York City. Had there been more of a People's Front approach, the results would have brought victory in Detroit. Whereas in New York labor contributed 36 per cent of the total vote of the labor-progressive coalition, in Detroit labor could have contributed 60 to 70 per cent, had such a coalition been established. Imagine how favorably such a result would have effected the struggle between the United Automobile Workers Union and the Ford drive now under way.

These two examples confirm the correctness of our Party policy. Had Detroit had a broad labor-progressive coalition, as did New York City, the labor and progressive forces could today be the city's administration.

Western Pennsylvania is another case in point. Out of 75 labor candidates, 62 were successful. In most cases where there was success, the outcome was predicated upon the unity of the labor and progressive forces of the various communities who worked through the Democratic Party. They had put up labor or progressive candidates on a progressive platform in the primaries.

Another extremely important reason for the victory in New York was the unity of the labor forces. The labor movement was united around the candidacy of LaGuardia. The Labor Party had virtually all the C.I.O. and many A. F. of L. unions supporting it. The Central Trades and Labor Council of the A. F. of L., which did not wish to work organizationally with the Labor Party, set up its own Non-Partisan Committee to re-elect LaGuardia. All efforts of Tammany, and even the use of Senator Wagner, failed to divide the labor vote. The so-called "Trade Union Party," fathered by Joseph P. Ryan, availed them nothing. A by-product of the election was the ousting of the reactionary Tammanyite, Joseph P. Ryan, from the presidency of the New York City Central Trades and Labor Council, a position he had held for fifteen years.

One of the most important results is the discrediting of the Red scare in New York. Mahoney, not able to meet the real issues of the campaign, created another entirely "new" issue —the Red issue. LaGuardia and Hillman were linked with Lenin by the Mahoney brain trust; the Communist Party's endorsement of the A.L.P. ticket—for the heads of which we took

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no political responsibility, since we had no voice in choosing them—was used demagogically by the Mahoney forces. Day in and day out Tammany hammered away on this issue, carrying on a particularly vicious campaign among the Catholic people.

Its effects we know by the results, not only on a citywide scale, but also in the fact that the anti-labor, Red-baiting George U. Harvey was re-elected Borough President of Queens by the narrow margin of 15,000 votes. If the use of the "Red" issue in the 1936 election against Roosevelt received a terrific setback, the results in New York City elections brought further discredit upon it. Of course, this does not mean that it will not be used again, but not in the crude form of the past. Encouragingly enough, labor and the progressives were not stampeded by the Red scare and indulged in no Red baiting.

One or two other conclusions: First, it is clear that Party labels do not mean so much as previously. True, Tammany is still a tremendous factor. The Assembly District machines did not lose very much; but as regards the head of the ticket, the borough candidates, etc., it is clear that realignment and re-groupings are taking place within the Democratic Party. This to a certain extent is true of the New York Republican organization, where there are strong progressive currents which have already clashed and will continue to clash with the Old Guard leadership.

For progress to triumph over reaction, it is necessary to win all who support a progressive platform to the Labor-Progressive banner. The vast majority of our population, including labor, followed either one or the other of the two old parties. To achieve the People's Front as an immediate major political factor, this majority must be won to it. The New York City elections show that this can be done. They show the correctness of the decisions of our Party's Central Committee Plenum of last June.

As regards the Socialists with their Trotskyite line, the election shows that they are eliminating themselves, as far as the vote is concerned. In influence, obviously, they are declining. In New York City, the official Socialist Party is not a real factor in a single trade union. It has met defeat after defeat. But as regards the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites, it still must be stated that we have not carried on a sufficiently concrete fight. While their numerical strength decreases, their possibilities for wrecking are still great. In this connection, we must not lose sight of Comrade Stalin's words that one person can wreck what 10,000 have built up. They are playing here the same role politically and organizationally which they attempted to play in the Soviet Union.

Finally, attention must be drawn to the fact that, while always coming forward with our position on all the day-to-day issues of the campaign, we come forward very definitely as the party of socialism. There was hardly a radio speech or piece of literature in which we did not connect up the need for the struggle for socialism with the day-to-day issues. This is absolutely necessary, and will become increasingly manifest as we advance on the road to the People's Front.

A few lessons from the rest of the state. The up-state New York munici-

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pal elections generally show that in this traditionally Republican territory the Republicans were again successful. Nevertheless, in a number of important cities progressives, in most cases Democrats, were successful. This was due to a recognition of the main issue of reaction versus progress, and to A.L.P. support. In Buffalo, formerly controlled by a corrupt and reactionary Democratic machine, a progressive Democrat, who had split with the machine, was victorious in his race for the mayoralty—this, notwithstanding the fact that ten of the thirteen councilmen elected are Republicans. The A.L.P. endorsed his candidacy and the Buffalo Communist Party supported the A.L.P. ticket. In 1936 Norman Thomas polled almost 4,000 votes in Buffalo, but a local candidate polled about 9,000 votes. In the municipal election this year the Socialist Party had a mayoralty candidate who polled 966 votes. In Niagara Falls, the S.P. vote dropped from about 1,100 in 1936 to 76 in this year's election.

In Jamestown, in a three-cornered fight, the progressive candidate for mayor, running as an independent, was successful. He won by 40 votes, which is considerably less than the Communist vote, showing that the Communists can directly determine results in the struggle between reaction and progress, since they supported this candidate who was also endorsed by the A.L.P. In Troy, Utica and Yonkers, progressive Democratic candidates, also running on the A.L.P. ticket having Communist support, were elected.

In Rochester, due to a split among the progressives and labor, the reactionary Republicans came back into power. In Hudson, where the incumbent was a progressive, having been elected on an independent ticket, he was defeated due to the Democrats and Republicans fusing and running only one candidate against him.

These typical examples show that where the progressives and united labor stood together on a progressive platform and candidates, they were successful.

An outstanding shortcoming of the labor and progressive forces in the state as a whole is the fact that no serious efforts have been made as yet to approach the large number of farmers in the state on the basis of progressive farm legislation and those issues that are common to both the urban and rural populations. This question needs serious consideration if the labor-progressive forces are to be successful in the 1938 state elections.

III

What are the tasks before the Party, before the workers and progressives of New York as a result of the elections?

First and foremost, to do everything possible to help develop labor-progressive coalition to the point of crystallization into a People's Front formation. The immediate need for this can be best understood when we see the present attacks of reaction and the fact that all reactionaries, irrespective of party labels, are rapidly coming together into one political formation.

Exactly what organizational form a People's Front formation will take cannot be predicted in advance; but one thing is certain: the American

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Labor Party, as the chief agency for such a development, and the backbone of the People's Front, must be built at a much more rapid rate than heretofore. That means that Communists and progressives in the unions must seek to bring many more unions into the A.L.P. as conscious, loyal, and active factors. There must be far more attention directed to bringing the farmers into organizational connection with the A.L.P.

The Assembly District branches of the A.L.P. must be strengthened. The A.L.P., being a new party with tremendous achievements and still greater tasks, has not yet become a normally functioning organization. A first step to make it such is the greater development of democratic forms and methods.

In connection with building the A.L.P., Communists and progressives in trade unions, farm organizations, fraternal groups, etc., must help arouse mass support for the legislative proposals of the A.L.P. and Communist Party. Wherever it is possible to hold mass conferences of various groups to support these legislative proposals—all or even individual proposals—this should be done. The labor-progressive victory in New York must also be made felt in the struggles between reaction and progress in the halls of the U. S. Congress and the state legislatures.

We may rest assured that reaction will not let up in its struggle for its program. The reactionaries will exert all possible pressure on the progressive city administration, as we see them doing on a national scale. Our slogan, "Vote Labor and Communist!" must now read "Labor and Communists, Continue the Fight for Your Program!" This means fight against the high cost of living, for a real housing program, for adequate work and relief for the unemployed, for a progressive city financial policy, against lay-offs, for labor's rights, for the right of the Negro people, the many national groups, the women, youth, and for other immediate issues.

There are many other questions that have a direct bearing on the whole question of giving some organizational form to the labor-progressive coalition in New York, which already has many of the characteristics of an emerging People's Front. The struggle for trade union unity and the fight for Negro rights are basic problems in this connection. But these have been discussed in greater detail elsewhere.

Here it is necessary to stress the need for building the Party and the circulation of the *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker*. Unless we perform this task, much of the prestige and influence we have won in the labor and progressive movement as a result of our excellent campaign will not be crystallized. As a result of the policies of our Party and our correct work during the campaign, many people are seeking our guidance, looking to us for answers to political problems—people who never did so before. Our Party has won real standing in New York City. We are part of the labor-progressive movement. We can mingle therein with heads erect. We can ask for support and for thousands to join our Party.

A particularly important task lies immediately ahead of us. That is the job of getting on the ballot and be-

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coming a legal party from the point of view of the state election law. That means that we must get 200 signatures on our petitions in every county of the state and many times this number in the big cities. We will then be able to place our gubernatorial nominee on the ballot in the fall of 1938. This, of course, immediately raises certain new problems—the question of the relationship of our campaign to that of the Labor Party, etc. However, this in no way effects our immediate task—that of getting on the ballot, a job which can only be completed if every branch and unit throughout the state cooperates.

We have clearly become a more powerful factor in the life of the people of New York City and state. But we should not get dizzy with success. Our problems are enormous and we must proceed with true Communist modesty to their fulfilment. But because we have broadened and deepened to the extent that we have, we must more than ever give attention to the problem of making every Party organization and every Party member able, on his own initiative and through his own leadership, to carry through the work of the Party. Unless this is done, not only will it be impossible for us to advance at the rate we must, but it will be impossible for us to help give sufficient direction to all progressive movements which have the possibility now of rapid advancement. The Party units and branches must be able to function independently much more than ever before.

Another point in this connection: as our participation in and responsibilities within the labor and progressive movement grow, our own understanding must grow. Party schools must be organized and supported as never before. The self-study of our Party functionaries and members must increase many-fold. If we do not keep alert politically, if we do not at least read current literature, the *Daily Worker, The Communist, The Communist International,* and important current books, we fall behind and cannot give leadership.

The members of the New York district have much to be proud of—but greater responsibility and tasks lie ahead. The importance of building the Party, the importance of educating ourselves more than ever before, the importance of our personal conduct—all these questions, considered "small" before, are now decisive questions for the further advancement towards the People's Front and toward the struggle for socialism.

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THE AKRON MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

BY JAMES KELLER

"There cannot be a blueprint which will answer by formula how the People's Front is to develop uniformly throughout the country." (Earl Browder, report to the December, 1936, Plenum of the Central Committee, C.P.U.S.A.)

THIS year's municipal elections threw a powerful searchlight on the problem of achieving that broad unity of progressive forces discussed in the December and June reports of Comrade Browder to the Central Committee. The experiences of these elections fully confirm the line of these reports, and furnish further knowledge for the achievement of a People's Front in America. These experiences demonstrate that the unification of progressive forces will take on varied forms according to the concrete situation in every locality, while moving in one common direction towards realizing the American People's Front.

The camp of labor and progress in Akron gave a good account of itself in the elections, demonstrating its growing strength and consciousness. It laid the basis for a fresh and even more significant advance of the forces of the People's Front against the offensive of reaction.

It is interesting to compare the Akron elections with those of Detroit and New York. Akron occupied a position between these two cities, not only geographically, but also in terms of election strategy. New York achieved the broadest coalition of progressive forces of any city in the country. There the American Labor Party did not nominate its chief candidate but supported LaGuardia, together with its own candidates for lesser offices. Detroit, on the other hand, had a strictly labor slate, selected, nominated, and supported by labor. The scope of the Detroit campaign was characterized by the statement of its chief candidate that "Labor must seize the reins of municipal government."

An outstanding feature of the Akron elections was the fact that Labor's Non-Partisan League not only endorsed candidates, but also selected and placed them for nomination on the Democratic ticket. Its candidate for Mayor, Judge G. L. Patterson was, however, a typical representative of middle class and professional groups. This factor, together with some others, enabled the League in Akron to launch a much broader election campaign than was the case in Detroit or Canton; but the movement failed to attain the broad character of the New York campaign.

POLITICAL REALIGNMENTS

In common with the other cities the Akron campaign was featured by

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deep-going political realignments. The day following Patterson's victory in the primaries, the defeated Democrat, H. B. Bixler, announced his support of the Republican Lee D. Schroy. The cleavage in party lines extended on a statewide basis when Governor Davey, Democrat and No. 1 strike-breaker in the steel situation, announced his support of the Republican Schroy, while Democratic Congressman Dow Harter campaigned for Patterson. Thousands of former Republican voters threw their support behind Labor's Non-Partisan League candidates on the Democratic ticket, breaking Akron's tradition as a solid Republican town, at least as far as municipal elections were concerned.

ELECTION RESULTS

Election figures, after a heated campaign, transformed arithmetic into a living factor. The inter-play of forces, strategy, advantages and shortcomings find their concentrated expression in the final results. With 44,000 votes Mayor Schroy was re-elected by a majority of 8,000, while Patterson received a substantial vote of 36,000, bringing the total number of votes cast to 80,000—a record high for local municipal elections. Thirty-six thousand votes would have insured the victory of a candidate in any previous municipal election. This feature, together with the election of four L.N.P.L. candidates for City Council, marks the election struggle in Akron as a significant step forward, particularly so, considering the unlimited resources of men and money which the Davey-Schroy coalition threw in towards the defeat of Patterson.

In contrast to Detroit, where the A. F. of L. sponsored an opponent to the C.I.O.-endorsed candidate, the labor movement in Akron was almost unanimous in support of the League's slate. Proportionately, the C.I.O. unions are a predominant force having under their direct influence about half of the city's voters. Consequently, the factors which account for Patterson's defeat are in many respects different from those in the Detroit situation.

Judge Patterson came within reach of victory. Forty-five hundred votes cast the other way would have elected the entire L.N.P.L. slate. The reasons for Patterson's defeat are not to be found in the vacillations of those who now claim it was a mistake not to have endorsed candidates of both the Democratic and the Republican parties. Nor are these reasons to be found in a host of other theories which sprouted after the elections, including the argument that Patterson was defeated because the Communist Party endorsed the League slate. The same policies, which insured an overwhelming victory for Patterson and the League in the August 10 primaries, would have secured his victory in the final elections. It was the abandonment of these policies which resulted in his defeat.

ERRORS IN POLICY

The mistaken political line taken by Patterson and his advisers after the primary victory, which in turn led to a series of strategic and organizational mistakes, may be summarized as follows:

1. The wrong conclusion that labor support was "in the bag," that no special efforts were necessary to guar-

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antee the labor vote, and, that, consequently, the League should be pushed into the background, lest it frighten the middle-class voters.

2. The overestimation of and reliance upon the Democratic machine, the transfer of ward activities from the hands of the League to paid Democratic-machine workers under the direction of the local chairman of the Democratic Party.

3. The evasion of all major issues, including the election platform of the League; the policy of "laying low" and taking no chances on "upsetting the apple-cart"; the refusal to champion aggressively the interests of labor and the middle class of the city.

4. The failure to nominate a Negro candidate on the Leagues slate and the evasion of the special issues in behalf of the Negro people.

5. The capitulation to the Red scare, the mistaken idea that the middle class vote could only be retained by out-Red-baiting the Red-baiters.

LOSS OF OFFENSIVE

The operation of this wrong policy resulted in the loss of the advantage which Patterson had scored with the primary victory and which had left his opponents and their political machine completely demoralized. Gradually, the reactionaries took heart and went over to the offensive.

The effects of the mistaken line were most glaringly reflected in the wards. Mayor Schroy received his 8,000 majority in two wards, both wealthy residential districts. Ward 8 alone outvoted Patterson by six to one, giving Schroy a majority of over 5,000 votes. Ward 2 gave Schroy the rest. To counteract these two wards, Patterson would have had to carry at least three of the working class wards by a vote of two to one. He failed to achieve such a result in any of the wards. Election results revealed the astounding fact that in Ward 6, where R. L. Turner, a union rubber worker, was elected Councilman, Judge Patterson lost to Mayor Schroy.

Patterson failed to rally the labor vote, not to speak of the small business men, professional, Negro and other groups. His weakness was best expressed in the characterization made of him by Comrade Browder.

> "Judge Patterson, far from being a radical, is not even as consistent a progressive as Roosevelt. If he were, there would be no doubt that he would carry the elections overwhelmingly."

This accounts for the main weaknesses of Patterson's campaign. While he and his campaign advisers refused to attack Governor Davey's record in the steel strike, Davey himself came to Akron and opened a frontal attack on Patterson. While Patterson refused to discuss vital labor issue, the reactionaries launched a campaign of fear, threatening the workers with decentralization and loss of jobs, and threatening the business men with destruction of Akron's prosperity if Patterson were elected. While Patterson attempted to side-step the fact of League support in an effort to pacify the midle class on the issue of "labor domination," the reactionaries waged a bold offensive on this issue. While Patterson endulged in vicious repudiation of Communist endorsement, the reactionaries took advantage of this mistake to intensify the Red scare.

It was the Schroy reactionary camp that conducted a far-reaching and un-

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tiring campaign among the small property owners, business men, women, foreign groups and the Negro population, while Patterson trailed them with belated efforts to ward off their aggressive blows.

The seriousness of this situation was recognized by labor's forces in the last days of the campaign. Ten days before election the foremost leaders of the labor movement took over the campaign, made speeches over the radio and issued a special newspaper in support of the League slate. These measures greatly bolstered the situation, but did not suffice to turn the tide of battle which had already swung definitely in favor of the reactionaries.

THE DEMOCRATIC MACHINE

The chief error committed in connection with the Democratic Party was not in seeking the cooperation of those Democrats who were willing to cooperate, but in permiting the machine to assume political and organizational control of the campaign. Equally disastrous was the simultaneous elimination of the League as an independent factor.

Before the primaries, the League had maintained headquarters in the wards, which were alive with volunteer workers and which expanded to the point of including and activizing large numbers of people in each ward. After the primaries, ward activities passed into the hands of paid Democratic machine workers selected by machine politicians. This inactivity of the League as an independent force not only prevented drawing additional unions and ward residents into the campaign, but enabled some of the machine workers to knife the League slate in part or whole. In some places the machine knifed individual candidates, while supporting Patterson; in other places sections of the machine used their position to knife the entire slate, thus preventing a unified, city-wide campaign for the entire slate.

Nor were the middle class and professional groups to be won by loud-sounding phrases about the New Deal in city government, by apologies on the issues of labor and the League, and by repudiation of the Communists. The main weakness here was the failure to cement an alliance with the middle class, small property owners and professionals on the basis of a program of their demands. The entire campaign strategy after the primaries failed to take into account the new currents stirring in the political sea. The Communist Party of Akron stressed the necessity of appealing to *all* voters, not on the basis of their former party affiliations but on the basis of the excellent election platform issued by the League, on the basis of progress versus reaction. Patterson, unfortunately, refused to make this slogan his own, and made his appeal on the basis of loyalty to the Democratic Party.

THE RED SCARE

Some of Patterson's supporters stated that the Communist Party should not have made any public endorsement of the League slate, and, in fact, should have remained completely silent in the election. Some even said cynically that the Party should have endorsed Mayor Schroy as a sure means of defeating him. This effort to

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escape the Red scare, and to resort to smart trickery demonstrates the complete failure to understand the tactics of Red-baiting reactionaries.

But the Party understood the necessity of taking a clearcut stand on the elections and making its position known from the outset. Aside from refusal to minimize its own role, the Party knew that the Red scare would be raised inevitably in one form or another.

Striking confirmation of the Party's position came with the appearance of the notorious pamphlet entitled *Vote for John L. Lewis and—Communism,* issued by the so-called "Constitutional Educational League of Connecticut."

This pamphlet did not confine itself to the city limits of Akron, which marked the world outlook of some campaign strategists. The progressive candidates of Detroit and New York came under fire as well. The following words express the keynote of Red-baiting technique:

"The united Red Front of the C.I.O. and the Communists is a major factor in the political picture at this time, not only in Detroit but also in New York, Akron and a number of other industrial cities."

Clearly the progressive movement itself is not safe until the Red scare is eliminated as an effective weapon of the reactionaries. Patterson's error in this respect was his failure to follow the example of Mayor La Guardia.

Nevertheless, the reaction of the labor movement to the Red scare featured one of the healthiest developments of the campaign. It marked the eleventh-hour effort on the part of the labor leadership to undo the damage of previous errors in the campaign. A typical example is to be found in an editorial of the official organ of the Goodyear Local, U.R.W.A. which stated:

"As to the charge that these labor candidates have the backing of the Communist Party, the members of the Communist Party are all laboring people and naturally could not back any but labor's candidates."

In the last few days of the campaign practically the entire labor movement spoke in the vein of this editorial.

The wisdom of this course is not only demonstrated by the victory in New York City, where the Communist Party conducted the most intensive campaign, but also by the experience of Canton, where the League suffered its worst defeat, and where no Party endorsement was made.

ROLE OF THE PARTY

This healthy reaction by the labor movement to the Red scare is, of course, indicative of a growing political understanding in its ranks. But this result did not come spontaneously. It was due in large measure to the activities of the Party, which, in fact, emerged as a recognized political force in the city. Through radio, newspaper statements, and its own literature the Party made its position clear before tens of thousands. Its opinions and activities earned increasing respect.

Through its members in the League the Party advanced policies which brought victory in the primaries, and have been confirmed by the experience of the entire campaign.

At all times the Party cautioned—in a friendly, constructive manner—against harmful errors of policy, hold-

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ing uppermost the unity and success of the movement.

The chief weakness of the Party's work was failure sufficiently to activize the branches for independent Party activity in the wards, as a means of building the Party, which largely accounts for the small figure of 35 new members recruited during the campaign.

With a larger Party it would have been possible to correct the shortcomings of the entire campaign much sooner than was actually done. From the entire experience, it is necessary to conclude that a strong Communist Party is an indispensable condition for the successful building of a strong progressive movement in Akron.

The main lessons of the Akron elections can, therefore, be summarized as follows:

1. Victory in the primaries is no guarante for election victory. A follow-up of the initial victory requires tenfold efforts to meet the desperate and redoubled resistance of the reactionaries.

2. Labor unity is essential both on top and among the masses for united and conscious political action, mobilizing the full force of labor. But labor cannot win alone. It must achieve united action with the middle class, professional, farm, Negro, and other sections of the population.

3. Labor can only secure united action with other sections of the population by fighting for their interests and finding active expression for all groups in political activities.

4. The League must not relinquish at any time its independent activity. Reliance upon political machines and old-time politics is fatal to the outcome of labor's political campaigns.

5. The trade unions are confronted with the need of broad political education in the locals and factories, and the organization of women's auxiliaries to win the women for effective political action.

6. The Communist Party is in duty bound to state boldly its position to the broadest masses and to build its ranks as the surest guarantee of the success of the progressive movement.

The election of four of its candidates to the City Council presents the League with new problems and responsibilities. The activities of the League's candidates in the City Council during the next two years will determine in large measure the prestige of the movement. Already a series of problems connected with lay-offs, relief, taxation, civil service and other issues confront the incoming City Council, and place a great responsibility upon the League's candidates, offering them great opportunities to work in the interests of the people.

On a statewide scale the immediate problem before the L.N.P.L. is to defeat the Liberty League Democrat, Governor Davey, and to elect the maximum number of progressive Congressmen and Senators from Ohio. As the first step in this direction it is urgent to convene a statewide conference of the League in Ohio and to extend its organizations to every locality in the state.

The victory of the progressive front in New York City and Pittsburgh, and the substantial advances by the League throughout Ohio, will furnish considerable impetus for its activities in the 1938 elections.

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WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

BY MARGARET COWL

THE first organized women's movement in the United States was formed at the Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. A Women's Rights Declaration and resolutions adopted at this convention called for the right to vote, the right to share in all political offices, equality in marriage; equal rights in property, wages, and custody of children; the right to make contracts and to testify in the courts of justice.

It required much courage on the part of women to take part in this first organized mass endeavor to break down the barriers that kept them from equal participation in the public life of the country. It was considered unwomanly and indecent to challenge the unequal position of women of that day; it was deemed a sacrilege for women to speak upon a public platform.

"Women have gone too far," shouted many clergymen. They wrung their hands and forecast the doom of the home. Writers depicted election day as a day that "would be a gala event for the prostitutes," should women be permitted to vote. Fearlessly the women carried on their fight to be more than mere political ciphers.

An outstanding feature of the earlier American women's rights movement was that its leaders recognized the necessity of linking up the women's movement with other progressive movements of the day.

In Philadelphia they organized the Female Anti-Slavery Society which published an address to women to support the abolition of slavery. They memorialized Congress to abolish slavery of the Negro people which separated Negro families and kept from the Negro mother any legal security in the possession of her babe. The society organized the first course of scientific lectures where Negro and white sat in the same audience. They advocated labor unions when these were generally considered illegal.

Leaders of the women's rights movement were among the staunchest opponents of war. In Philadelphia alone over 3,500 women signed a friendly address to the women of England, as a sign of international solidarity. At a women's meeting in New York, around 1880, leaders of the Women's Rights Movement proposed plans for a world congress of women in behalf of international peace.

The demands for women's rights were specific and were bound to give positive results. Colleges, trades,

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and professions gradually opened to women's admission. Laws limiting work hours for women were passed in a number of states as a result of the women textile workers' efforts. Some states granted women the right to vote.

Women in the United States joined with women in England and Ireland for woman suffrage and there arose a broad, united, militant, women's movement for the right to vote.

In 1920 the 19th Amendment to the United States Constitution was enacted, granting women the vote. The movement for woman suffrage had bearing on the passage of the Cable Act by Congress in 1922 recognizing independent citizenship for married women.

Women wage earners, who in the meantime increased in numbers, the largest group of women having common economic interests and, therefore, the most important group, did not become an important part of the woman's rights movement after its first victories were achieved. Undoubtedly, that is a chief reason for the failure of the woman's movement to continue to put forth such all-embracing demands as the right to vote. The woman's movement lost its feature of united action.

THE "EQUAL RIGHTS" AMENDMENT AND SPECIAL LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN

The leadership was divided when the proposal for equal rights by constitutional amendment was made. The "Equal Rights Amendment," sponsored by the Woman's Party, was formulated in 1922. Many women's organizations correctly estimate this Amendment as utopian, as a search after formal equality. Trade unions generally do not support it because it might invalidate the existing special legislation for women in industry, which to some degree does improve the economic status of women and helps trade unions to maintain their gains. Under the minimum wage law for women in the laundry industry in New York state, wages are as much as 50 per cent higher than previously. There is no indication to show that increased wages for women under such laws have generally resulted in a loss of jobs by women. Women's wage levels are still very much below those of men, notwithstanding that minimum wage laws for women in almost twenty states resulted in a raise in wages for women.

Unemployed women particularly demand special legislation to maintain the women's projects under the W.P.A. The "Equal Rights Amendment" would give the courts jurisdiction to decide whether laws that protect women are constitutional. The existing meager "mothers' pensions" could be invalidated; the "non-support" laws which impose on the husband a special obligation to support the wife or children could be declared illegal. The Amendment could prevent the enactment of laws for protection and welfare of working mothers. The sudden sweeping away of even these meager safeguards for women in industry would mean incalculable hardship, with no assurance that substitute measures would be enacted in the future.

The powerful force of tradition helps to keep women's wages down; there is still need for special laws to

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help women attain a better standard of living. But the enactment of such laws would be hindered if not impossible under the "Equal Rights Amendment."

In the United States, two women to every seven men work for an income. Three-tenths of all employed women are in the domestic and personal service industries, where the wages are lower and which are the first to be affected by spreading unemployment under a new business recession. Besides, working women suffer the same effects of spreading unemployment as do men workers.

With such an unequal and insecure economic status, women cannot but intensify their activities for raising their standards. More effort by women in the trade unions to increase their membership, greater activity for special legislation for women will preserve and extend their economic standards.

To urge working women, particularly at this time, to concentrate upon the passage of the "Equal Rights Amendment," which jeopardizes protective laws for women, is to deliver them into the hands of reaction. It is not surprising that reactionary elements come to the support of that Amendment. As it is now formulated, it is not progressive and not in the interests of working women.

Working women would not oppose an equal rights constitutional amendment if it clearly indicated that special laws necessary to the needs of women wage earners would be thus enhanced.

Reactionary forces would not be slow to take advantage of the lowered economic standards of women to attack other rights for which women have fought with so much effort. Is it an accident that a supporter of the Equal Rights Amendment is Senator Edward R. Burke of Nebraska, who opposed the Wages and Hours Bill for all workers? Or again, is it coincidental that representatives of the Women's Party which sponsors the Amendment find themselves lobbying together with agents of the National Association of Manufacturers against minimum wage laws for women? In Germany, fascism was successful in divesting women of all rights because it first destroyed and stripped from them whatever economic security they had.

Women's social and political rights depend upon their economic position. That is why it is so important to fight hard for the right of women to have jobs. Complete equality is possible only when women secure economic independence. And that is possible only in a society wherein the profit motive is removed, a society in which a basic tenet is the absolute equal right of the sexes—in the Soviet Union.

Even in the Soviet Union where women are equal with men before the law, the rights of women are clearly defined in the constitution and not placed in an abstract form. The right of women to work, to enjoy leisure, and to rest, as well as the protection of mother and child is definitely stated.

THE WOMEN'S CHARTER

The Women's Charter is rallying around itself not only women's organizations, but is gaining the support

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of trade unions because it stands for the principle of special legislation that fits the needs of women. Laws should be changed to meet new conditions, and the charter expresses confidence in the ability of working women with the help of their trade unions to work out such laws for themselves. The charter recognizes that the demand for equality is inseparable from the demand for higher standards of living for women, together with men and by special effort where that is necessary.

Modern life is not organized to permit women to achieve full equality or to make equality sufficient so long as conditions exist which are adverse to the general welfare and particularly burdensome for workers. Thus, the Women's Charter states:

"Reactionary forces everywhere manifest a tendency to deprive women of the gains won in the last fifty years through the movements for woman suffrage, for economic independence, and for educational opportunity. To the reactionary forces which would frustrate these hopes, women seek to oppose not merely defensive resistance or unwilling acceptance, but toward larger aims than have been achieved in the past.

"This forward progressive movement supported by women throughout the world can be also a powerful force to maintain democracy and peace against the oncoming dangers of war and the destruction of civilization."

The Women's Charter is the Declaration of Women's Rights under new conditions, when the people are mustering all progressive forces in the fight against reaction, for democracy and peace. It is assured successful continuation because of the greater organization of women into the trade unions, many of whom are becoming active in making the objectives of the Women's Charter a reality. It is getting the support of Negro women because it stands for the equality of Negro women. It has the support of Catholic and Jewish women. The Women's Charter is so important, because it stresses the need for women to unite around the most basic demand concerning women, namely, the right to work.

The Women's Charter therefore is a valuable contribution to the developing people's movement in the United States. It should play an effective role in the people's legislative conferences that are developing in a number of cities.

The Communist Party will support the Women's Charter movement and will use its resources to further the success of the Women's Charter City Conferences of local trade unions and white and Negro women's organizations that are being prepared in a number of cities, to work out concrete programs of legislative activity for women.

WOMEN'S PEACE WEEK

While women's organizations in the United States are more alert to general questions of international peace and civil rights, it is the American League for Peace and Democracy that raises special peace questions of particular interest to women. Mothers' Day in May has become popular as a day for peace. Formerly it was used for commercial purposes and for military preparedness speeches. On that day hundreds of organizations unite in peace parades and meetings

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throughout the land. Broad educational work is carried on against the militaristic spirit that is promulgated on Decoration Day "in honor" of those who died in the war.

The American League for Peace and Democracy will call upon women's organizations and local trade unions to inaugurate a *Women's Peace Week* during the first week in March in all large cities. International cooperation for peace will be stressed and anti-war and anti-fascist literature widely distributed. *Fight,* the official organ of the American League for Peace and Democracy, will appear as a special women's issue in March.

This new determination for a united women's peace week to stress international cooperation means added support to the people's struggle against fascism, particularly at a time when the world fascists are trying to provoke a world war. This stress on international cooperation for peace will bring more clearly to the masses of women in the United States the need to direct their efforts towards "quarantining the aggressor" – the fascists who are making war, the same fascists who are depriving women of their rights. It will serve to emphasize the peace policy of the Soviet Union. This intensified movement for peace on the part of women will further the boycott of Japanese-made goods which is having such widespread effect and in which masses of women participate; it will broaden out the work of women in support of other progressive movements and measures, such as aid for Loyalist Spain and along various sectors of the strike front in defense of the rights of the workers.

WOMEN IN THE FIGHT AGAINST THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

In a number of large cities, the popular activities of women against the high cost of living have brought into being a huge people's movement against the trusts. Women's organizations, A. F. of L. and C.I.O. trade unions, cooperatives, local labor parties, political clubs, white and Negro organizations; neighborhood, religious, civic, welfare, consumer and fraternal organizations have united into people's conferences, pressing upon the government to force the trusts to bring down prices on food, to lower rents, and rates for public utilities. These conferences are demanding that the municipal government establish milk stations and electric plants as a standard for prices and rates.

These conferences are the people's forum where the trusts are indicted for their monopolistic practices, and the government is called upon to bring the trusts to responsibility. Demands are made upon the trusts to check their anti-labor policies, their anti-Semitic and Jim-Crow practices. The intentional freezing of capital and closing down of factories by big business is effectively exposed by leading people in civic and social life at these conferences. These gatherings indicate how far-reaching is the worsened condition of the middle classes who are looking for a way out. These are ready to join hands with the workers as consumers in the fight against the trusts.

Long ago Engels pointed out how the worker is cheated as a consumer, how this extortion is endured in com-

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mon with other classes. The consumer problem is not exclusively a working class problem; the weakening economic and social position of the urban middle class and small farmers has been made even worse by rising prices for the city consumer and falling income for the farmer, with the inevitable growing tendency to unite the workers, farmers, and city middle class. This expanding unity movement of workers, farmers and city middle class in the struggle against the forces of reaction, the trusts, inspired with the enthusiasm and experience of the workers, is one of the greatest bulwarks in the People's Front movement in the United States. This organization of the people to defend their most vital economic needs is one of the most effective ways to build the People's Front against reaction.

The activities of the women, especially of the women's trade union auxiliaries, in municipal elections, stressing the need to fight high prices, show what a big part the united movement against high prices will play in the 1938 Congressional elections. That is why the Party should give even more help to the uniting of the people against the high cost of living. We should help in the development of such conferences in more cities without delay. Women's organizations, women's trade union auxiliaries will be the quickest to respond.

In the neighborhoods, consumers' committees should be established. These will assure active life in carrying out the decisions of the conference. Women's forums in the neighborhoods, backing the progressive and labor city councilmen who are pledged to support the fight against the high cost of living, should have special help and guidance by the Communist Party.

The year 1937 has witnessed a very broad participation of working women in strike struggles in the United States. The wives of workers played a very significant part in the strike movements. As a result, unprecedented numbers of women joined the trade unions, and the activities of the women's trade union auxiliaries have gained in popularity throughout the land. Many wives of workers have been organized around the trade unions; the A. F. of L. is reviving the work of trade union auxiliaries by calling a national conference of the auxiliaries.

Not since the days when the fight for woman suffrage was at its height have such large numbers of women joined in action inside the united front movements developing in the United States today. These are along three main streams, namely, the work for peace; the fight against the high cost of living; and the pressure for social and labor legislation, including mother and child welfare. Women are not only active around general questions within these movements, but are carrying on major activities that are of particular interest to women, and that fit in with the general work on these three issues. The Women's Charter movement will be instrumental in arousing more activity by women in the trade unions, not only on specific women's issues, but for general trade union work. A very significant feature is that working women are becoming active in the struggle for women's rights around the Women's Charter.

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In other countries, there exist independent women's movements for peace; in the United States the tendency has been to carry on such work inside the general peace organizations. The women's peace groups, generally, do not carry on activities of special interest to women. The broad participation of women in the People's Front is preparing the way for a united independent women's movement for peace and equal rights. The greater infusion of working women into the activity around peace questions and for special legislation for women will hasten the development of such a united women's movement. What form such a mobilization will take will depend on the situation at the time. Its beginnings are evident in the joint activities of women's organizations and trade unions to celebrate Mother's Day for peace and in the decision of the women to hold a woman's peace week in March under the auspices of many organizations. However, these are temporary united activities. But they are first steps.

THE DIRECTIVES OF THE C.C.

The Central Committee of the Party calls upon all Party organizations to organize a campaign for improving mass work among women:

"Mass work among working class women, and all working women in general must be regarded as one of the chief tasks of the Communist Party, which it carries on primarily with the forces of Communist women. For the fulfilment of this task all Party members and particularly the Communist women themselves must show constant initiative and concern."

The reading and study of more basic literature, studying the decisions and resolutions of higher Party committees, keeping posted on the activities of women—these are requirements of women comrades who are engaged in leading women's activities:

"There should be a check up on the number of women Party members, to see what work they perform in the Party and in the trade unions, to see whether these forces are correctly allocated, and then to create special organizations and organs consisting of women Party members (together with the more advanced women sympathizers) for carrying out work among the widest masses of women."

This should not deprive the women comrades of participation in general Party and trade union work. New Party cadres must be developed among the women who take part in the anti-fascist movement, in the trade unions, and the other mass organizations.

Our Party organizations are more conscious than ever before of the need for recruiting of women into the Party. About 30 per cent of the new members in the present recruiting drive are women. But there are not enough women recruited from the industries. This can be rectified as women's activities increase in the mass organizations.

The Party declares:

"It is necessary to popularize in all ways and utilize for work among the masses of women all that the October Revolution has given the women of the Soviet Union."

Throughout the city, in the neighborhoods, and in the women's organizations and trade unions there should be mass meetings organized by the Party and by other organizations, in the month of March, 1938, particularly on International Women's Day, March 8, when the position of women

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in the Soviet Union is specifically popularized. Special literature should be distributed at these meetings on the subject. The *Daily Worker* and *Sunday Worker* should be distributed in large numbers.

The popularization of the position of women under socialism and the recruiting of more women into the Party are especially important, now that enemies of the working class and of the People's Front are trying to find their way into the women's movement. The Trotskyites distributed a leaflet aimed to sabotage the special women's activities during the time the women on W.P.A. projects in New York were demonstrating for the right to work. By exposing the fascist work of the Trotskyites, we can render the women's movement invincible to any such attempts to disrupt its unity.

By showing more concern for the growing women's mass movement, women Communists can help that movement grow stronger as a very significant part of the general People's Front for peace and democracy.

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UNICAMERAL LEGISLATURE IN NEBRASKA

BY E. RICHARDS

Is the unicameral (one house) form of the legislature a success? Is it more progressive than the two-house system? Can it put an end to the evils of party machinations, so evident in bi-cameral legislatures?

These questions, which one hears at every turn, cannot be answered with a categorical "yes" or "no." What in theory can be quite a progressive step, can, in the hands of reactionary politicians, be made the opposite in practice. The unicameral method, if carried out correctly, is a decided improvement over the two-house system. The unicameral (called Senate; members are called Senators) can provide a much more equal representation and can stop a small bloc in the upper house from overruling the large majority. But to do this, the change must be carried through under the guidance of men and organizations that represent the interests of the broad masses.

Although the people of Nebraska hopefully voted in 1934 for the change as a progressive step, the large business interests took it over. This was clearly proved in the first session of the unicameral which opened on January 1, 1937. The state constitutional amendment, ratified in 1934, became operative on January 1, 1937. Big business carried through the organizational change and used it to tighten its stranglehold on the legislature.

What has the unicameral to offer?

The problem of representation is a burning issue for the masses. Therefore, a change in the form of a legislature raises the questions:

Will it give us better and broader representation?

In Nebraska, representation was cut to the bone—from 133 in the past two-houses to 43 in the unicameral. In the lower house of the past legislature (100 members), there was a cut of 57 per cent. But this does not mean that a change to the unicameral system necessarily will cut down representation. A unicameral can and should have even broader representation than a two-house legislature. The problem of representation should be embodied in the amendment, with a specific number set.

Will it stop party machinations?

The father and founder of the Nebraska unicameral, Senator George W. Norris, worked to institute it as a means of stopping party machinations. For 30 years or more he had fought the connivings in Washington, D. C., and in Lincoln, Nebraska. He

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envisioned a model legislature with this evil eliminated. He worked for a unicameral on a non-partisan basis. However, the experience to date of less than a year has not shown this evil to have been eliminated. A change in form does not necessarily change the content. True, party caucuses are not held openly (although a proposal to do so was made last winter); they merely take on a different form. As long as we have the representatives of finance capital in the leadership of law-making bodies, they will carry through their machinations, possibly being forced to change form. Our examples in regard to certain bills will evidence this.

Will it prevent a small reactionary bloc from stopping the will of the majority?

Yes—the Senate as such is abolished, but the Nebraska experience points out that a small clique can still stop the will of the majority.

Instead of sitting in a separate chamber, they now sit in the same chamber. The unicameral adopted a set of rules drafted by a committee whose chairman was played up in the press as the "leader of the progressives." He is the dean of the Senate and, in conjunction with the administration, has introduced more vicious bills than any other Senator. The stated set of rules, approved with little discussion and with minor changes because of the absence of a progressive bloc to oppose it, embodies a variety of ways by which a small group can throttle the will of the majority.

Do the non-partisan elections constitute an improvement?

Definitely, no. This issue has turned out to be one of the greatest evils of Nebraska unicameral. Let us show how the reactionaries, with even a minority in a given district, can put in their man through the "non-partisan" elections. No candidate carries any party identification: All appear on the same list in the primaries. The two highest appear in the final election. In order to "kill" a progressive, the opposition will place several "progressives" on the list in order to split the progressive vote six or seven ways. The two reactionaries then receive the highest number of votes and appear on the final ballot with no other opposition. This can be put over, since no one is tied to a party, to a definite program—only to his promises. This limits the possibilities of the progressives, since they are not able to put forward a party program but must support candidates as individuals.

This method turns out to be a weapon in the hands of the group in power to make it difficult for labor and progressive groups to place their men in the Senate. It is necessary that there be party identification in all elections to give us a way of tying a candidate to a permanent and definite program. This becomes increasingly important as we are able to organize independent political action through utilizing the realignment of the social groupings and the gathering of the forces of labor and progress around definite issues and a definite banner.

The "storming of the state capitol" in 1933; the rapid growth of the farmers' organizations; the penny sales; the forcing of the moratorium law; the struggles of the unemployed; the strikes in Omaha, especially the street

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car strike, were living proof of the mood of the masses. Drought and hunger, the destruction of cattle, hogs, food, and feed only sharpened the situation. Something had to be done.

The "state fathers" could not come out openly with their program. They had to cloak it in progressive phrases and still retain their stranglehold. The opening days of the Senate in January clearly showed how they had been preparing the ground to control this new "animal." The farmers and workers looked to the new legislature for assistance. They waited quietly. They did not prepare. They had no leadership to guide them, to prepare them, due to the absence of a Labor Party and due also to the fact that the Communist Party in Nebraska is still small and weak. Further, the reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor preached confidence in Governor Cochran (whom they are boosting for Democratic candidate for the presidency in 1940). The Farmers' Union did not say anything, since it "could not participate in politics." The majority were unorganized and waiting. Today, they are beginning to see differently.

THE UNICAMERAL IN OPERATION

A picture of the present administration, *i.e.,* Governor Cochran, "the second house of the unicameral," will help the reader to understand the new legislative set-up in Nebraska. Politically Governor Cochran is another Senator Burke, without being the clown that Burke is. He is more shrewd in his tactics, often making progressive statements to win the masses and to cloak his real program. He represents the railroad, the packing, and the sugar interests of Nebraska. These three groups, closely knit together through Wall Street, control the state.

The governor's opening speech in the unicameral was a rewording of the aims of the financiers of the state with sufficient spicing to attract the masses. He bowed below the knees to the "economy program" and the "no new taxes" demand of the large interests. By "economy" he meant, of course, cutting the taxes of the large owners, giving nothing or very little for relief, and preparing the ground for further cuts in property taxes by foisting a state sales tax on the masses. This speech was taken as a go-ahead signal by the Association of Omaha Taxpayers (an organization of the Omaha bankers)—so much so, that a month and a half later this organization forced the County Commissioners to cut the assessed valuation of the largest owners in Douglas County from 16 per cent to 40 per cent, robbing the county of nearly $500,000 in tax income. This same organization, using the Governor's speech as its "supreme court," has forced the school appropriation down by nearly 50 per cent, thus further slashing the children's all too meager education.

Today the administration is paving the way for a state sales tax through the demagogic "homestead exemption" movement, under the leadership of ex-governor Bryan, but receiving the support of the present governor. The purpose of this move, as has been stated, is not to give exemption to the sorely-pressed small home owners and small farmers but to fool them into

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supporting the sales tax when it is proposed at the coming session. The deceptive battle cry is: "Tax the apartment dwellers who make big salaries and pay no taxes."

The State Committee of the Communist Party, in a recent Open Letter, exposed this trickery, showing how tax revenue can be increased through a steeply graduated tax on larger properties and through the enactment of a state income tax. The Party is supporting small homestead tax exemption.

The "economy program" of the governor received the unanimous endorsement of the Senate (unicameral), which went so far as to pass a resolution pledging itself not to oppose Cochran's program.

The first month, January, went by with the administration forces able to put through everything they proposed. It seemed as if the "unanimous support" resolution was going to prevail. The Senate voted a resolution memorializing Congress to oppose President Roosevelt's Supreme Court Reform Bill. It approved all the administration proposals for procedure and rules of conduct, thereby setting up a stumbling block to many of the proposals which senators sought to advance.

But things began to happen quickly. The masses who had so religiously waited for this new "animal" to produce something that would alleviate their miserable conditions began to see that the unicameral was only repeating the procedure of the past legislatures. This was expressed in the fact that on February 15, the thirtieth legislative day and the last day for proposing new bills, nearly half of the 550 bills were introduced. Approximately all the bills that would have helped the masses were introduced on that day—or just a day or two earlier. But the administration forces had not been asleep; they had introduced their bills before. When it came to discussing the bills, those of the administration were at the top of the calendar. Many good bills died of suffocation through adjournment, speeded up by the administration.

A few words on some of the most important bills:

"Legislative Council Bill No. 395: This bill, introduced by the 'progressive' Norton, was one of the twin pets of the administration and possibly the most reactionary measure enacted by the 1937 session. The Act provides for a 'legislative council' of fifteen members to be appointed by the speaker of the Senate and approved by the Senate membership. Among the duties of this Council are:

"A. To examine the effects of previously enacted statutes and recommended amendments thereto.

"B. To prepare a legislative program in the form of bills. . . .

"C. To investigate and study the possibilities for consolidation in state government. . . .

"D. To investigate and study the possibilities of reforming the system of local government.

"E. To cooperate with the administration in devising means of enforcing the law and improving the effectiveness of administration methods."

The Legislative Council was set up. What has it turned out to be? Who is its chairman? Amos Thomas, the head of the state National Guard and one of the most reactionary men in Nebraska. In practice this law means that the 43 men elected by the citizens of Nebraska are virtually rubber stamps to approve the bills proposed by the small group. It boils

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representation to something so thin that even the starved prairie chickens are fat by comparison. A majority in this Council rules—eight men. They prepare the bills.

The Council has met once. What has it done? Today the workers and farmers of Nebraska are demanding a special session to provide relief. The Council stated that there was no immediate relief need, no need for a special session. This, in spite of the fact that the State Relief Administration declared that it would be unable to go through the coming winter unless something was done to provide more funds.

The Act states:

"The council is authorized to accept and use any funds made available to it through the terms of any cooperative agreement that it may make with any agency whatsoever for the accomplishment of the purposes of this Act."

There is plenty of money for this bureaucratic, non-representative dictatorial pet of the economic royalists of the state—but there are no funds for relief or other needs of the masses.

The other twin pet of the administration was the Short Ballot Bill No. 60. This law, passed by vote of 26 to 15 and introduced by the same Norton, allows for the election of only two state officers by the people (Governor and Lieutenant-Governor) on a partisan ballot. Two others will be elected on a non-partisan ballot—auditor of public accounts and superintendent of public instruction. All other state officers will be appointed by the Governor, subject to confirmation by the Senate, and to recall by the Governor at any time. This places such officers as the Secretary of State and the Attorney General at the mercy of the Governor. The bill, passed May 10, received such opposition that the house stood "under call" for thirty minutes, thus forcing three abstaining senators to vote for enactment. The bill carried an emergency clause which required a two-thirds vote.

The stated two Acts clearly give a picture of the line carried through by the administration. Both acts have received the loud acclaim of the Hearst and *World-Herald* papers, and have been studied carefully by reactionaries in other states.

The Short Ballot Bill was passed as a Constitutional Amendment and therefore must be ratified at the polls in 1938. The Communist Party and the progressive forces have the task of defeating this measure.

As evidence that this is only a prelude to further plans for curtailing representation and the powers of the people's elected representatives, Governor Cochran is now coming out with the idea that the Senate should not be able to overrule his veto.

A NEW ALIGNMENT

Selecting the issue that was vital to all, both to workers and to farmers—the issue of relief—our Party succeeded in getting before the Senate a group of bills which called for more than doubling the amount proposed by the administration for assistance. Working on both Republican and Democratic senators, according to their stand on problems, the Communist Party succeeded in bringing about a situation where the question of an appropriation from the gas tax for relief purposes hung the Senate for

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three weeks. Mass pressure was also brought on the Senate. Although the Chairman of the Labor Committee managed so to arrange the hearings on these bills that the unemployed were not able to present their position on the most important among them, our Party, through hearings on other bills dealing with similar problems, found it possible to present considerable material before the committee. So much so, that even the chairman admitted that those hearings, one of which was taken over by the workers (with their own chairman), killed a pet relief bill of the administration—a very reactionary measure.

The tie on the gas tax question was finally broken by a compromise. But the outcome proved what could be done. It brought forward very clearly a new alignment among the senators. The old line-up of Republican *vs.* Democrat, city *vs.* farm, was broken. Republican, Democrat, city and farm were to be found on both sides. This was such a blow to the administration that some of its spokesmen demanded new rules to prevent the formation of blocs (of course, progressive blocs). The press was loud in its demand for new rules. Open party caucuses were demanded.

But that which was lacking on the part of the progressives gave the administration its chance. The progressives were not organized. They lacked unity of aim and program. The mass support was not strong enough. The A. F. of L. withheld support. The existing farm organizations stood aloof, still heeding the demagogic cry of the Governor that relief would raise taxes. The Communist Party was not yet able to be a mass factor.

Because of these weaknesses, although making a good stand, the masses suffered a defeat in the unicameral. The forces of the economic royalists were able to put through their program.

No money was appropriated for direct relief in the state budget. This question was turned over to the already bankrupt counties. Today Douglas County, which has one-third of the relief load of the state, has no direct relief. Only the sick receive a pittance of from $2.50 to $3.00 a week, in trade, at the high-priced county store. Those who are considered "able to work" by the relief heads get nothing.

The child labor amendment ratification was killed in such a manner that even many conservative organizations demanded that it be acted upon again. This mass protest forced the Senate to reconsider and to vote on the resolution; the first time it came up it was not even voted on, but was booed down.

Two types of social security bills were proposed. The administration bill called for individual accounts of each employer; the bill introduced by Senator John Adams, Jr., called for a pooled fund of all employers' payments. The latter was supported by the labor organizations and progressives; the former, which was adopted, was supported by the big employers, especially the packing houses and railroads.

The Federal Social Security Act makes allowance for either type being adopted by the states. Under the pooled fund, all social security payments are kept in one fund and paid out of this one fund. Under the type

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of fund adopted in Nebraska, each employer's account is kept separate, and benefits are paid from this account only to his former employees. Under this system employers pay their share of the social security tax *only* until such time as their "reserve" in the fund equals 7 per cent of their payroll. After this is reached, they pay no tax unless their reserve falls below the 7 per cent. It is clear that this benefits the large employers who are able to stabilize employment to a greater extent than the small fellows. The large employers are taking steps to get through seasonal rushes without hiring any new employees, thus increasing the speed-up. In slack times they "spread the work" to avoid paying any benefits.

This is not a state of large industries, outside of the railroad, meat packing, and sugar beet industries. The small employer operates on a narrow margin, and in the event of his being wiped out his former workers would receive unemployed benefits only to the amount he had already paid into the fund. Further, establishments of less than eight workers do not have to pay the tax; and this includes a large portion of Nebraska workers. Agricultural workers were not included, by terms of the federal act.

The anti-picketing law recall resolution was killed in the labor committee. It never saw the light of day.

THE DEMAND FOR A SPECIAL SESSION

With these and many more experiences the struggle by the workers and farmers to gain something is taking on a new form—the demand for a special session. This demand was first raised by the Communist Party, even before the unicameral adjourned, when it became clear that all the labor bills would be killed or emasculated in one manner or another. The Workers Alliance raised this demand at its state conference, immediately receiving good support. So strong is the sentiment for a special session that only lately 300 people, mostly farmers, gathered in Lincoln to voice the demand. These 300 represented about 90 per cent of the counties in the state. A petition of over 8,000 names from Douglas County alone was recently presented to the Governor on this question. Cochran is definitely opposed to a special session, saying that there is no need for it. It is necessary to get 29 of the 43 senators to call a session over the governor's head. So we see that a mere few can stop something that is a matter of life and death to the unemployed and the drought-stricken farmers of the state.

The recent Open Letter of the Communist Party outlines three tasks for such a session:

1. Provide sufficient money for paying the maximum payments (which still are inadequate) as provided by the Assistance Act and sufficient to provide direct relief for all those who are unemployed;

2. Adjust the distribution of funds according to need and not according to population;

3. Provide sufficient money not only to feed the needy farmers and their stock but also seed money and working funds for the summer.

In recent months we have noticed a growing interest in Nebraska from the outside. Many of the prominent

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magazines have carried articles about the "state that has no debt." Many articles have been written about the unicameral. Why all this interest?

Why are there representatives from every one of the 47 other states in Lincoln? Twelve states have had resolutions or amendments before their legislatures this year for unicameral amendments. Other states are considering the question. Many eyes are on the Nebraska experiment, watching the baby grow, watching how it will deal with some of the most burning social problems of the day. These eyes are mostly the eyes of the bosses. But we can also see a growing interest among labor and farmers. It is a different interest. They do not look to the "progressive state in the Middle West" in the same light as the economic royalists. The unicameral in Nebraska is no longer a Nebraska issue. It has taken on national aspects. The forces of reaction are seeing in it a means for furthering their reactionary program and interests. Hearst sees in it the "American way" to prepare the state for fascism. All, of course, under the guise of "improving the law-making apparatus."

But there are others who see differently. The Farmers' Union, in its state convention at Omaha, saw a "danger in the present unicameral."

A new alignment of forces has begun, just begun—but the signs are there. The masses are learning that in order to get something from the unicameral they must use their might of unity to bring pressure upon it. Independent political action is being discussed; it must be developed into the action stage. Under the guidance of the Communist Party, the forces which today are only starting to see their tasks will soon feel their power through united action. The Communist Party must recruit hundreds into its ranks and link itself through effective action and leadership to Nebraska's toiling population.

The unicameral method can be made to eliminate many of the obstacles in the way of progressive social legislation—party machinations, buck passing from one house to another, one house standing in the way of the other, etc. But to make the work of the unicameral effective, the forces of progress must see:

That there be no decrease in representation; to work for broader representation;

That elections shall not be "nonpartisan," but that all candidates bear party identification;

That the move remain in the hands of the progressives;

That the unicameral shall not be allowed to become a legislative executive for the benefit of the economic royalists

To carry through this change in the best manner we must increase our activities for independent political action through the building of the C. I. O., through promoting trade union unity, and through advancing other progressive movements. This, coupled with the building of a mass Communist Party, will be the only guarantee of preventing a repetition of the Nebraska "experiment."

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FOR A FREE, HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS SOUTH

BY FRANCIS FRANKLIN

1. THE SOUTH AS A REGION

COMRADE BROWDER in his report to the June Plenum of the Central Committee pointed to the fact that complete national unification of the United States has never occurred. Regional antagonisms and differences still exist, and it must be the role of the American People's Front to achieve the real unity of all these regions.

Of all the regions of the United States, none stands out more distinctly than does the group of Southern states. If one examines tables or maps of comparison of various sections or states of the United States, such as are to be found in Odum's *Southern Regions of the United States*, he will be struck by the fact that, from almost any standpoint, the group of Southern states stands out as a region.

The South is the most predominantly agrarian section. Two-thirds of the Southern people live in the country, whereas in the nation as a whole only 45 per cent are in the country. In Mississippi, only 17 per cent of the population live in cities. Furthermore, the Southern countryside is the most densely populated of all agrarian sections in America.

Of all sections of the United States, the South has the greatest proportion of young people. No state outside of the South has as much as 40 per cent of its population under 19 years of age. Yet no state in the Southeast, with the single exception of Florida, has as low as 40 per cent of its population under 19. The two Carolinas have respectively 50 per cent and 49 per cent of their populations under 19 years of age.

These figures speak volumes. They indicate the existence of an appallingly high death rate, a high birth rate, and also a tremendous and continuous migration of adults from the South. So great is the latter, so high is the Southern birth rate that the South can be characterized as the breeding ground of the nation.

The high death rate flows from the poverty and exploitation of the Southern people. The high birth rate flows in part from the general ignorance, including lack of information concerning birth control, in which the Southern people are held. The exodus of young adults from the South indicates the effort of the Southern masses to *escape* from poverty, ignorance and exploitation.

The poverty of the Southern mill workers and sharecroppers is widely known. The sharecropping system, with its attendant peonage, is a direct remnant of the economy of slavery.

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The persistence of this slave-heritage has established a standard of cheap labor which has also fastened a "Southern differential"in wages upon Southern white labor. On the basis of stimulated race prejudice (white chauvinism), the exploiting classes play white labor against black labor and vice versa, to the detriment of both. Thus, the exploiters have been able in the past to prevent that organization and united action of the Southern toilers which would have put an end to this Southern differential.

It must also not be overlooked that, in comparison with the rest of the country, the South *as a whole* is held in relative poverty. Odum gives the following interesting figures. In the entire Southeastern section of the United States, embracing Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Oklahoma, there are only seven millionaires. These seven are to be found in only three states—Tennessee, Kentucky, and Florida. On the other hand, in the Northeast alone, there are 513 millionaires. Over half of these, 276 to be exact, live in New York. Of the 15,000 persons in the U.S. with incomes over $100,000, eight states have 12,000. No one of these eight is Southern. New York has one-third or 5,538 of them. One-sixth of the states, no one of which is Southern, possesses five-sixths of the large fortunes of the country.

These figures indicate that, while the Southern landlords and capitalists are among the most brutal exploiters in the U.S., they are for the most part dependent upon and agents of those Northern financial barons who are the principal exploiters of the nation.

Everyone knows that nearly all the mills of the South are financed or owned by Northern capital. Most of the Southern mills have run away from the Northern labor movement to the unorganized South. The industrialists strive to disunite the American working class and to oppose Southern and Northern workers against each other.

James S. Allen has shown in his book, *The Negro Question in the United States,* that the Southern plantations, through the banks, are also dependent on Northern finance capital.

As a result of industrialization of the South by Northern capital and the financing of Southern industry and agriculture by Northern bankers, wealth is constantly pouring out of the South into the hands of Northern capitalists. The large Northern financiers and industrialists, with the active aid of their landlord semi-feudal agents in the South, utilize the unorganized "backwardness" of the South, the remnants of a slave-tradition, and the ability to pit black labor against white labor, in order to drain superprofits out of the South. Behind the Southern exploiters stands Wall Street. Northern finance capital is the chief exploiter of the South. It is this same Wall Street, which is also the chief enemy of the working class and the people as a whole in the North. The Southern toilers not only find their chief exploiter in the North, but also those with whom they must be indissolubly united in order to meet the common enemy.

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The poverty of the South also expresses itself startlingly in the form of soil erosion, more extensive here than elsewhere. The South expends by far more money for fertilizer than any other section.

This poverty presents itself to the eye most vividly as one rides through the vast cotton belt of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. For interminable distances, one sees only cotton fields amidst gaping gullies, while as far as the eye can see, are scores of miserable, unpainted huts set in the midst of the fields, the homes of the modern serfs, the sharecroppers and peons. These vast regions are not like industrial America, but remind one of a semi-feudal or colonial country. Only an occasional mill or mill village, shot through this landscape of black cabins and cotton fields, filled with their hosts of bent backs, breaks the monotony of the miles of fields and cabins. Scarcely a house is painted. There are only boards for windows. Even the churches and whole villages have never known paint and are black. The cabins and churches are bent and mashed flat to the earth with age, having become a natural part of the landscape. An occasional gleaming white mansion—even these are rare in the rural areas—serves only to intensify by contrast the surrounding dreariness.

In practically all comparisons of the South with the rest of the nation, the South stands out by standing *at the bottom* of all the other regions in such things as social well-being, industrial, technical, and institutional development. Not only has the South the greatest poverty, the densest ignorance, the most intense exploitation, but also the greatest amount of crime and the greatest number of lynchings. The Chicago murder rate actually seems small in comparison with the Southern murder rate. Yet the South is also the stronghold of Protestantism, and furthermore prides itself on its homogeneous Anglo-Saxon stock, having the smallest percentage of foreign-born to be found anywhere else in the United States.

It is clear that the South constitutes a special problem for the revolutionary movement in America. The key to this problem is the special oppression of the Negro people. *However, the Negro question in itself does not concern only the Negro people, but the entire South and America as a whole.*

2. A SOUTHERN "DESIGN FOR LIVING"

In contrast to the poverty of the Southern people, one hears a great deal about a Southern way of life—a "design for living" as it has been called—consisting of such things as grace of manners, courtesy, hospitality, social charm, and the like. These are by no means myths. The South is rich in a native and virile culture. These qualities in their finest form are not to be found in the aristocratic arrogance of the Southern upper classes, but among the Southern poor.

But whence did this Southern "design for living" originate?

The South still possesses remnants of a pre-capitalist economy.

The introduction of capitalism anywhere has always marked a definite advance over feudalism in that it increases production, frees the toilers

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from bondage to the soil, and brings them together where, even though suffering the most frightful exploitation, they are able to organize and prepare for the final onslaught against exploitation in general. Yet, as *The Communist Manifesto* states, capitalism is merciless in its destruction of all elements of social charm in personal relationships, of all ideas of *noblesse oblige* and the like. It tears away the halo which has shrouded all pre-existing forms of exploitation and substitutes cold and naked cash relationships.

"The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his 'natural superiors,' and has left no other bond between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous 'cash-payment.' It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy waters of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single unconscionable freedom—Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

"The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation, hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-laborers.

"The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation." (*The Communist Manifesto.*)

It is this "halo" of a pre-capitalist form of economy which has not yet been completely destroyed in the South. This is to a certain extent the "charm" of the South, its "design for living," which appeals to those who are sick of the purely cash relationships of the industrial North. Yet getting rid of this "halo," enabling man to see the harsh and brutal aspects of exploitation, is in itself an advance.

There are certain Southerners, like the so-called "agrarians," who see something good in itself in this pre-capitalist "design for living," who consequently want to go backward, away from industry. They do not see that this "design" is primarily a glamorous illusion, obscuring the brutal reality of the remnants of slavery. They do not see that the only way out of the present confusion is not backward to feudalism—an impossible movement—but forward from capitalism to the substitution of a collective life of "social charm," as it were, not for a small group of exploiters, but for all who toil, resting not on slavery and an agrarian economy, but on industry which has been socialized.

3. THE DOMINANCE OF THE SOUTH BY WALL STREET

Before the Civil War, the South had its own distinct economic system, based on slavery. Capitalism was beginning to evolve within the South and the native Southern capitalists were definitely hostile to the slave system. However, it was not this native capitalism which destroyed chattel slavery. The latter was destroyed from without by the industrial North, although with the active support of those in the South who suffered from the slave economy. In fact, preceding the Civil War, there was a rapidly growing abolitionist movement in the

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South. The Southern mountain people were always hostile to slavery, and many of them fought in the Federal army.

The bourgeois revolution in the South, however, was never carried to its logical end. Before the Negro freedmen obtained land, the Northern industrialists, afraid of the revolutionary activity unleashed during Reconstruction, betrayed the former slaves, whom they had used as temporary allies, and compromised with the Southern landlords. This made possible that counter-revolution which terminated Reconstruction and reintroduced remnants of slavery in the form of sharecropping, peonage, Jim Crowism, disfranchisement of the Negro, etc, etc.

The Negroes who were brought over from Africa were from many widely-divergent tribes, with different languages and customs. However, slave-dealers deliberately separated those from the same tribe, in order to make rebellion more difficult. Thus slavery forced the Negroes to forget their old languages and customs, and fused them together, so that today they form a homogeneous people. The Negroes today live on a common territory, the Black Belt, in which they form the majority of the population; they live under common economic conditions; share a common language and culture; and possess a common historical tradition. They are, therefore, a distinct national minority. However, since they are for the most part landless, they are completely denied the material prerequisite for self-determination.

There is a small, but definite Negro bourgeoisie, which, however, is limited in its development by the discrimination against *all* classes of Negroes and by the poverty of its own people. The Negro people thus definitely form an *oppressed national minority*. The Negro people during Reconstruction were fighting for full national self-determination, *viz.*, for land and for social, economic, and political equality. These efforts were completely crushed by the post-Reconstruction counter-revolution. Thus today, the necessity to win full bourgeois-democratic demands still confronts the Negro people. Their special oppression holds down the level of the whole South and casts its shadow over the entire nation. Complete national unification of the United States can never occur while a national minority in the United States continues to be exploited. The right to self-determination on the part of the Negro people is a necessity for the achievement of thorough-going national unification.

Because of their partial defeat by the Northern capitalists, the Southern landlords have retained a certain *psychology of defeat*. The ruling class of the South has been able through its control of the schools, churches, press, etc., to impose this psychology of defeat to a large extent upon the Southern people as a whole. The sectional aspect of the Civil War made this easier. Poverty and suffering have afforded a material basis for such sentiments. This is something which we cannot afford to ignore. Comrade Dimitroff pointed out in his report to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International that the national (or in this case, regional) sentiments of a people cannot be ignored.

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The destruction of chattel slavery in the South was a definitely progressive movement to which the labor movement and the international revolutionary movement gave complete support. It resulted in greater unification of the American nation. But this war, led by the Northern bourgeoisie, at the same time resembled a conquest of the South. It was not only the landlords who felt their vandalism; the masses of Southern poor were also looted. Such events are incidental to any progressive war, although especially so in *bourgeois* revolutions. Nevertheless, we cannot ignore this aspect of the Civil War and expect Southerners who remember these things or who know how their grandparents suffered to listen to us.

It is true that there were some idealists and sincere abolitionists who remained in the South after the Civil War and who tried to aid the Southern people through the establishment of schools, etc. However, great numbers of the carpet-baggers were mere adventurers. In the midst of Reconstruction, while the former slaves and Southern poor in general, with the support of labor and liberals in the North, were sincerely trying to achieve democracy and a better life, many of the carpet-baggers from the North were looting the entire South. When the time came, they did not hesitate to betray their former allies and to leave the Negro people and Southern poor completely to the mercy of the Ku Klux Klan and the reactionary and illegal legislatures. The K.K.K. was directed not against the corrupt carpet-baggers, who united with it, but against the Southern masses, both Negro and white, who were trying to achieve democracy.

The South passed definitely under the control of the Northern bourgeoisie, and it is still under the dominance of Northern fianance capital. This dominance continuously drains wealth out of the South, leaving its people in a state of impoverishment.

4. ORGANIZED LABOR AS THE SAVIOR OF THE SOUTH

Throughout the South, antagonism toward the North is still strong, and as Marxists, we must reckon with it seriously.

Hitherto, the landlords and capitalists have been able to a certain extent to direct these anti-Northern sentiments against the labor movement and especially against the revolutionary movements. They have branded the labor and revolutionary movements as something alien, coming into the South from the North. They have branded labor organizers as "racketeers from the North," as a new variety of carpet-bagger.

To a certain extent, our movement has made a head-on collision with the antagonism of Southerners toward Northerners. There have been too many statements like the disgraceful slanders of the Southern people made by Leibowitz during the Scottsboro trials. Every true Southerner, and no one more than a Southern Communist, resents slurs cast upon the Southern people, just as Dimitroff resented insults heaped upon the Bulgarian people.

The task which confronts us is to direct the anti-Northern sentiments, produced by conquest and exploitation on the part of Northern indus-

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trialists and bankers, not against the international labor movement, but against its proper focal point, *viz.*, Northern finance capital and its landlord-capitalist agents in the South.

Lenin and Stalin have taught us that we must not pull demands and slogans out of the air and try to force them down upon the masses. We must keep close to the people, take up those demands which they already have, and, by leading them to struggle for these demands, lead them also to advance new and more far-reaching demands.

Our Party has been close to the Negro people of the South, and has advanced these demands dear to the hearts of the Negro people. We must now begin to advance a program which will bring us just as close to the masses of Southern whites. We will lead the Negro people to realize their demands, we will begin to win thorough-going liberation for the Negro people only when we begin in practice to rally the Southern whites in unison with the Negro people.

Are we to scoff at Southern pride? Under no conditions. We must rally that pride for the building up of the South. The present poverty, ignorance and exploitation of the South violently contradict this pride. We must stand for a prosperous and progressive South which will take its place in social well-being, educational opportunity, etc., on a plane of equality with the rest of the nation. This means putting a stop to the constant draining of wealth out of the South by Northern capital and retaining it for the welfare of the Southern people.

These are demands near to the hearts of the Southern people.

We must avoid the error of making over-simplified generalizations about the South. There has been too much loose talk about the "solid," "reactionary" South. Such talk antagonizes many liberal and progressive Southerners, of whom there are far more than is generally realized. Our aim should be not to lump the whole South together as one "solid" mass of reaction. We should rather emphasize the existence of Southern liberalism, popularizing the latter, in order to mobilize it *against* reaction. We should stress the fact that outstanding leaders of the American Revolution—Washington, Jefferson, Henry—were Southerners. Our aim should be to introduce a *wedge,* still farther than at present, into the "solid" South, not to help solidify the South in the camp of reaction.

The Chinese have a vivid expression for their native exploiters who have sold themselves body and soul to the Japanese militarists. They call them "running dogs of Japanese imperialism." Everyone is familiar with the shameless manner in which Southern Chambers of Commerce advertise for Northern industries, boasting of their "cheap, contented Southern labor." Everyone knows how they give concessions to these industries, permitting them to enter free from taxation. Too often one gains the impression from articles about the South in our press that such people as these, lynchers, chain gang bosses, scoundrels, are typically Southern. We must put an end to such insinuations. We must brand these Chambers of Commerce and all their fellow petty ex-

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ploiters of the South with the name of *treason*. It is not they who represent the South. Just as we brand Hearst as un-American and subversive, so we must denounce these people as *traitors to the South*. They are the "running dogs of Wall Street."

It is not only the South which is especially oppressed by Northern finance capital. In every imperialist country today, the agrarian regions are dominated by the leading financial interests of that country, which are always concentrated in a limited area and which are the real rulers of every imperialist country. The agrarian West, as well as the South, is subjected to the rule of Wall Street. Westerners also have a considerable hatred for what they call the "soft and effeminate East" and especially for New York, which many of them tend to identify with Wall Street, forgetting its millions of poor. This hatred on the part of the Westerner springs from his whole history. The early settlers of the West were fleeing from the oppression of the big planters and traders of the East. The "back country," as a debtor region, has always tended to hate the "creditor" East. All agrarian regions in present-day America feel the dominance of Wall Street. The populist movements have given expression to this hatred. The conflicts in every session of Congress over agricultural legislation reflect the same resentment. In helping to form a national People's Front, we must not forget the *special* demands of *all* the vast depressed agrarian regions of America. This is important in the West as well as in the South.

Potentially the South is one of the wealthiest sections, if not the wealthiest section, of the country. The lands of the Southern coasts and the Mississippi Delta were once among the most fertile in the world. This land has been wantonly wasted, but can still be redeemed. No section is richer in natural resources or scenic beauty.

We must demonstrate how a powerful Southern labor movement can put an end to the looting of the South and begin to make this potential wealth actual. Only organized struggle by the Southern workers can put an end to the Southern differential in wages and thus retain in the South the wealth which formerly swelled the superprofits of the Northern owners of Southern mills.

The labor movement in the North is anxious to abolish the wretched conditions in the South which make it possible for employers to run away from unions in the North. The C.I.O. is spending vast sums to help organize the workers in the South. "Runaway" mills are the worst exploiters of the Southern workers. Therefore, workers throughout the nation have one common interest—to organize *all* the workers. The American working class must overcome the division which the industrialists seek to produce between Northern and Southern workers.

We must demand an end to tax-exemptions on industries that come into the South, in order that funds may be obtained for public works, in the interest of the Southern people. We must demand *federal* aid for the South, in the form of legislation to aid the rural poor, for housing projects, for W.P.A., for construction of hospitals, schools, libraries and other needed facilities. Obtaining federal

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aid for the South will mean merely *regaining* some of that wealth which since the Civil War has constantly been drained out by Northern industrialists and financiers, aided by their "Southern" agents. Only organized labor can push such legislation most effectively.

With such a program for building up the South, we can mobilize the broadest masses not only among the working class and Negro people, but also among the Southern middle class, intellectuals and professionals. Recently, Representative Maverick of Texas advanced a program for putting an end to the draining of wealth from the South, for fighting the "modern carpet-baggers." This indicates that many Southern Democrats will rally to such a program.

5. THE T.W.O.C. IN THE SOUTH

The present drive of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee of the C.I.O. promises to be the greatest progressive movement in the South since Reconstruction. Not only are textile workers organizing by the thousands, but their example is stimulating organization in scores of other industries. Already the agreement reached with the Viscose Rayon Corporation, having factories in both North and South, has abolished the Southern wage differential in this one corporation, employing 20,000 workers.

Taking into consideration the relationship between the Southern proletariat and the predominantly agrarian economy of the South, it is important that the message of the T.W.O.C. be conveyed through the radio and other means to the Southern people as a whole and to the rural poor in particular. Also the unions should begin to advance demands, legislative and otherwise, in the interest of the farmers. Only thus can the repetition of Hershey episodes on a big scale be avoided. Only thus can we begin to move the Southern countryside along with the proletariat.

We must never forget that the Southern working class has its roots in the soil. The Southern workers have come from the soil. Their families are still on the land. They return to the farms for visits. The mills are scattered in small villages, and many of the workers still live on the farms. This connection with the land has tended to retard the development of class-consciousness among Southern workers. However, just because of it, if we are careful to convey the message of organized labor to the farms, when the Southern proletariat does begin to move, it should stir the entire South.

We must spread everywhere the slogan that "Support of Organized Labor will mean the salvation of the South."

If labor is to lead the Southern people to real prosperity, it must achieve unity in its own ranks. This means once and for all overcoming the antagonism, produced by the exploiters of the South, between Negro and white.

Real industrial unionism means organization of *all* workers in an industry. It is the duty of the Communists to see to it that this principle is not slurred over in the case of Negro workers.

Where white workers will not now organize into the same organization

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with Negroes, we must not let their prejudices, inspired by the exploiters, stand in the way of organization. We may temporarily permit separate sections of a local. But everywhere we must stand for organization of Negro and white workers under the same charter and for executive councils, shop committees, etc., with full Negro representation.

Because of the vast youth population in the South, we should give a first place to work among the Southern youth.

Southerners are especially fond of social life. This is an aspect of that "design for living," the heritage from a pre-capitalist form of economy, in which there was less "business" and more leisure, thus more joking, merry-making, loving, talking, singing. Yet in spite of this, the general poverty of the South, together with the puritanism of a great part of Southern Protestantism, has deprived the majority of young Southerners of any healthy outlet for their natural desire to enjoy life. A special task of the unions in the South should, therefore, be to take it upon themselves to provide for the needs of the young workers for recreation, entertainment, culture, sports.

6. DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S FRONT IN THE SOUTH

The native Southern exploiters have ruled the Southern people almost entirely through the Democratic Party. However, the Republican Party has been the party preferred by the dominant Northern bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, Northern finance capital, in dominating the South, has been perfectly willing to rule there through the Democratic Party. The Southern Democratic leaders have been perfectly willing to betray the South for Northern capital. Carter Glass of Virginia has been one of the most outstanding spokesmen for the Wall Street banker, Morgan.

For the very reason that the Republican Party is the typical party of the big bourgeoisie of America, it has been largely through the Democratic Party that liberal currents, the middle class, etc., have usually tried to achieve their ends, although this is the party in the South of the most brutal defenders of the remnants of slavery and also the party of many of the most corrupt political machines of the North.

The big bourgeoisie, however, has managed to keep its grip on both parties with sufficient firmness to keep these currents from being particularly effective until the last election. In that election, the big bourgeoisie, for the first time, was almost *overwhelmingly* supporting the Republican Party; while labor and progressive forces began to crystallize definitely around the presidential candidate of the Democratic Party.

It is fortunate for the development of a progressive, political movement in the South that it was precisely into the Democratic Party of the "solid" South that progressive currents began to flow in the last elections. These national progressive currents in the Democratic Party are also having their effect on the Democratic Party of the "solid" South. Here also cleavages are beginning to take place.

The reactionaries of the Democratic Party in the South sought various methods during the last election cam-

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paign of breaking away from the New Deal-Roosevelt Democrats. This was seen in the case of the abortive Constitutional Democratic Party of Talmadge, backed by Hearst. It was revealed again in the "Jeffersonian" Democrats, who in the name of the Democratic Party gave support to Landon and the Liberty League. Other reactionaries, such as Glass and Byrd, who were also straining at the leash, made no open break with Roosevelt, fearing to lose their "solid" Democratic vote. The temper of the Southern people was shown in their vigorous repudiation of Talmadge and the "Jeffersonians," also in the large Communist and Socialist senatorial vote in Virginia.

Another aspect of the growth of a progressive Democratic wing is the movement of the *Negro people* into the Democratic Party. The Negro masses were once almost solidly supporters of the Republican Party, because of the progressive role played by the latter at the time of the Civil War. During the last election, it became increasingly clear to large sections of the Negro people that the Republican Party has long since become a party of reaction, from which Negroes have nothing to hope. Increasing numbers are seeing that they must join forces with labor, which has thrown its support to Roosevelt. This influx of Negroes into the Democratic Party must exert pressure upon that party to take a more progressive stand for the Negro people.

The best method of forcing the Roosevelt Democrats to take a progressive stand in the South will be by the appearance of labor on the Southern scene as an independent political force. The T.W.O.C. in the South is now rapidly reaching the stage where it can become such a force, and if it is to become a powerful factor in the South, it must enter politics.

The formation or threat of formation of an independent Farmer-Labor Party in the South would have the tendency of forcing the Democratic Party to take a more progressive stand. This in turn would tend still more to force the reactionary landlords, the Glasses, Byrds, etc., out of such a progressive Democratic Party. We should utilize every opportunity to influence the Democratic Party in the South in this direction. In this manner, it may be possible to swing Southern Democrats into a broad Farmer-Labor Party coalition, thus forcing the reactionaries to split away or else leaving them high and dry.

In certain scattered sections in the South, where progressive currents have entered the Republican Party in order to act as opposition groups to the dominant Democratic machines, the possibility of winning even such opposition Republican groups for a broad Farmer-Labor Party coalition should not be overlooked.

What would be some of the most essential demands of a real Popular Front movement in the South? We may summarize them under the following major headings:

1. The *achievement of real democracy* by the abolition of poll taxes and all restrictions on voting; the redistricting of Southern states to get rid of "rotten boroughs"; the abolition of the fee system for public officials; popular election of judges, school boards, etc.; severe laws against lynching; outlawing of terrorist groups such

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as the K.K.K.; full rights for the Negro people to vote, hold office, sit on juries, practice any profession, work on any job, secure relief, or use public facilities;

2. Drastic *labor legislation,* such as passage of State Labor Relations Acts, including guarantees for the right of agricultural and domestic workers and state employees, as well as industrial workers, to organize; passage of wages and hours bills, raising Southern wages to the level of wages anywhere and enforcing equal pay for Negro and white employed on similar jobs;

3. *Legislation for small farmers and tenants,* making adequate grants for loans at low interest to all needy farmers and tenants for purchase of land, cows, or other equipment, shifting from sub-marginal to better soil, or launching of farm cooperatives; and inaugurating extensive programs of soil conservation and rural electrification;

4. *Public welfare measures,* such as building an educational system of equal facilities for Negro and white on a scale equal to the best found anywhere; campaigns to abolish illiteracy, eradicate dietary diseases, hookworm, tuberculosis and syphilis; construction of publicly owned dairies; establishment of free clinics; extensive housing construction; T.V.A. projects; abolition of the chain-gang system, sales taxes, tax exemptions on corporations, etc.

In addition to the *trade unions* and the *progressive Democrats,* many other organizations and groupings in the South must be won to the People's Front.

Community and *civic leagues, Parent-Teacher Associations,* etc., exist in almost every Southern city, town, and village in both Negro and white sections. Through programs for civic welfare and opposition to the tyranny of the utilities on the part of such organizations, Popular Front movements may be born locally.

The People's Front is at present the main political form which the Negro liberation movement must take. Our aim, therefore, must be to win *every Negro organization* for the People's Front. Unity of action between Negro and white organizations for common specific aims is a transitional form of organization from the present system of segregation to one of complete unity. Winning of full democratic rights, equal economic and educational opportunities is the present stage of the movement for self-determination.

The South has been widely known as the "Bible Belt," and no mass movement in that region can ignore the *churches* and other religious organizations. The majority of Southerners, both Negro and white, are Baptist and Methodist. It is important to recognize that both denominations arose historically from exploited groups and are still regarded as churches of the "common people." We should utilize the role played by Anabaptists in the Peasant Wars in Europe and by such Baptists as Roger Williams in America.

Southern regionalists, such as Odum, comprise another group which should be won to the People's Front. In so far as they are prepared to cooperate in building up the South in the interest of immediate gains for the Southern people, we can have a common minimum program on

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which we agree. This group represents a widespread sentiment among the Southern intellectuals and middle class.

Such a program as above outlined, by recognizing the real cause and the real nature of Southern regionalism, will by its realization begin to *negate* that regionalism. However, this negation will come not by attack from the outside, but by development of progressive forces from within in conjunction with progressive forces everywhere.

A Popular Front program for the South, whether achieved through the development of the progressive forces in the Democratic Party or through an independent Farmer-Labor Party coalition, will, by wiping out the Southern differential in wages, carrying forward the liberation movement of the Negro people, winning increased institutional advantages, and the like, begin to abolish the economic *basis* for Southern regionalism. In this manner, the American People's Front will, to the great advantage of the South, take long strides toward achieving that national unification which will raise the South to a level of equality with the rest of the nation.

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MARXISM-LENINISM FOR SOCIETY AND SCIENCE

A YEAR OF *Science and Society:* A CRITIQUE

BY V. J. JEROME

JOHN DARRELL'S "The Economic Consequence of Mr. Keynes" ** is a polemic against a leading bourgeois economist who, notwithstanding his "heresies," is left groping in regard to such questions as the business cycle, unemployment, and crises, because in his continued defense of a system that is indefensible, he falls back for support on non-scientific categories (*e.g.,* the subjective theory of value), because "the dead hand of his past guides his pen in the present, at the very moment when he thinks he is being most revolutionary."

The article deals with Keynes' contention that the present-day capitalist economy is "not violently unstable," demonstrating by Marxian argument the inefficacy of the conditions enumerated for stability. It must be said, however, that the author fails to come to close grips with the question, since he does not place the issue in its historic setting—in the epoch of imperialism, the specific period of the general crisis of capitalism, that in which Keynes advances his theories. Possibly the concluding article, announced but not published, would have dealt with the contradictions marking the declining phase of capitalism. As it is, we have no reference, either by word or idea, to the struggle of the two worlds (save for a footnote mention of the Soviet Union). Why is this so? Because the author has failed to take his weapons from the arsenal of Leninism. Lenin's name is not once mentioned in the article (again, save for a footnote reference)—nor his monumental work *Imperialism.* In consequence of this detachment from the specific operation of the capitalist laws of motion in our time, the author says little or nothing in regard to present-day problems. Thus, while proceeding to refute Keynes' reliance on psychological laws, Darrell fails to launch the positive attack that we expect from a Marxist.

Two other articles that can by extension come under the heading of political economy are "The Dilemma of Puerto Rico," by Earl Hanson* and "Agricultural Property and Enterprise under Italian Fascism," by Carl T. Schmidt.**

The former presents a valuable exposition of the flagrant injuries done

* For the first section of this critique, the reader is referred to the December, 1937, issue of *The Communist.—The Editors.*

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** Issue No. 3

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to Puerto Rico by Wall Street domination. With telling data on the agricultural economy of the Island and the ravages of imperialism, it breaks down the legend of beneficent patronage. But, unfortunately the article limits itself to criticism, a criticism which, because of its non-basic character, would not be out of place in any liberal magazine. More than this, however, is expected from a Marxian publication.

In the first place, despite its indictment of imperialist oppression, the article does not clearly set forth the inseparable relationship of Puerto Rican well-being and national independence, thus leaving unrefuted the enemy contention that the Island needs United States paternalism.

The weakness of Hanson's whole approach emerges in his statement:

> "Nevertheless specialization in cash-export crops is a necessity for a land as crowded as Puerto Rico. An acre of sugar-cane may be worth $200, as compared with a value of perhaps $30 of an acre of some local food-crop. The present agricultural economy could support the population far better than an economy given to the production of food crops, *were the benefits from it distributed more equitably.*" (P. 504.)

That the "present agricultural economy," imperialist and super-exploitative in every aspect, could, under any circumstances, "support the population far better" is questionable. The implication of Hanson's statement seems to coincide with the opinions of those who hold that the Caribbean countries, because of their limited resources and their struggle to develop independently, can look only toward a future in which each will continue to specialize in one particular crop and depend on the goodwill of the great Powers.

But the fact is that the colonial countries are prevented from growing their own food by regulations imposed by force, prevented, as Hanson himself points out, from developing new crops because credit, distribution, shipping, and banking facilities are in the hands of the imperialists.

There is no hindrance to Puerto Rican development along any line including industrial (light industry), except the one obstacle, imperialist control. Though limited in natural resources, having few minerals, the Island has a varied soil and a great potential water power supply; oil could come easily and cheaply from Venezuela; coal from Alabama; wood from Haiti and Santo Domingo. Most of the needs of the Puerto Rican people could be supplied far more cheaply at home than by purchases from the U.S. market, the most expensive in the world, and most goods could be sold elsewhere more profitably than in the United States, or at least, the U.S. could be made to compete for its purchases. On the world market, with all the disadvantages of a small country, Puerto Rico would yet be able to manage its economy more efficiently and more independently than at present under the "protection" afforded it by the United States tariff, selling mainly to the smaller independent countries, but primarily developing its own sources of food and clothing for its people.

Certainly, from the point of view of the starving Puerto Rican, seasonally unemployed in an "over-populated" country, the growing of food crops for immediate use is infinitely

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more valuable than the hope—the vain hope—of more equitably distributed benefits from the "present agricultural economy."

From the immediate, as well as the ultimate view, the development of food crops in Puerto Rico is part of the struggle for independence; giving, indeed, a measure of independence; lessening reliance on company stores; and easing the unemployment and urban "over-population" problem.

But even for the present economy, how can "the benefits" be "distributed more equitably" if not through the struggle for national independence? An eight-hour day, social insurance, an adjusted tax system, limitation of the power of the imperialist enterprises, can be accomplished only through this movement.

Here, then, is the second basic fault, from which the first has stemmed; the author does not deal with the Puerto Ricans as an oppressed nation and with their struggle as a movement for national liberation. He speaks of Puerto Rico, in a general way, in the limited terms of the "economic imperialist" school. Thus, he speaks of "Puerto Rico, as a unit," instead of as a nation. He does not posit his thesis on the fact that the main issue in Puerto Rico is *nationhood*, and that all facts, events, solutions, programs must stem from this position that the people of Puerto Rico constitute a nation with certain inalienable economic, social, and political rights now trampled upon by North American imperialism.

This non-Leninist approach to the question leaves the author devoid of a program of anti-imperialist action. It makes weak and wavering his very recognition of independence as a demand. This no doubt accounts for the title of the article, with its acceptance of a state of dilemma. Thus, immediately after the slight passage devoted to the national liberation movement, the author states:

> "There are many possible kinds of independence. The question today cannot be: 'Would independence be good for Puerto Rico?' The question is meaningless unless the independence involved be defined. The problem is to find the kind that is best suited for the overwhelming needs of a colony that has begun to disintegrate under its present status." (P. 511.)

But the problem is not faced by Hanson. The kind of independence needed and attainable remains undefined—even though he speaks of "the organized determination of the Puerto Rican people to liberate themselves from their present dilemma." Needless to say, this is not the way to fight the demagoguery of the sugar trust and the bankers who foster the notion, implicit in the shameful Tydings Bill, which fortunately died in the last Congress, that Puerto Rico is tied to Wall Street merely and solely because of its helplessness to work out its own independent existence. Or, as Theodore Roosevelt, former Governor of the Island, plainly stated, Puerto Rico needs the United States far more than the United States needs Puerto Rico.*

The author could have avoided his inconclusiveness, had he taken cognizance of the national aspect of the struggle of the Puerto Rican people, the demand for national self-determination. He sees that "terrible standards of living give rise to the demand

* *Foreign Affairs*, January, 1934, p. 280.

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for independence" (p. 501). But the demand for independence recognizes the cause of unbearable living conditions in the super-exploitation inseparable from colonial status, thus taking the issue out of any state of dilemma. With this Leninist approach, Hanson would have seen the movement for national unity rising from this basic need under the slogan of national revolution: "A national united front for the immediate convocation of a constituent convention and the proclamation of the Republic!"

This slogan was released by the combined movement of the Communist, Nationalist, and Independent Parties —an anti-imperialist People's Front, embracing all groups except the national traitors in league with imperialism. Under this slogan, demonstrations have been held in scores of cities and towns. The author refers to the terror against the independence movement; but the essential significance of this whole liberation movement seems to escape him. *Would independence be good for Puerto Rico?* Let the words of Barcelo, President of the national reformist Liberal Party, be the answer: "Let independence come though we die of hunger!"

But, as Hanson so well demonstrates in his article, it is under the imperialist spoliation that Puerto Rico is drained of its substance, dies of hunger. And, as he might have concluded from his own analysis, only independence, the elimination of super-exploitation, will assure a more equitable distribution of the benefits from Puerto Rican economy.

The Communist Party of Puerto Rico, participating as a leading factor in the People's Front movement for immediate amelioration and for complete national liberation, makes clear its position that the full benefits of national liberation will always remain unachieved till the establishment of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, Soviet Power, the conditions for which can be prepared by the development of the colonial revolution through the ascending stages of the anti-imperialist People's Front.

Finally, the relationship of the topic to the specific audience to which it is presented, the American audience, is barely touched upon, although the people of the United States, in conducting their struggle against the forces of monopoly capital, must see a basic unity and manifest a solidarity with the struggle of the Puerto Rican people—a solidarity which must find its expression in the inclusion of the demand for the liberation of Puerto Rico in the program of the developing American People's Front. The full statement of this demand was incorporated in the Marcantonio Bill introduced in Congress on May 6, 1936. It is an axiom of Marxism-Leninism that the revolutionary struggle for liberation on the part of a colonial people is integrally connected with the struggle for emancipation on the part of the exploited working class in the "home" country. Inculcation of this axiom is a basic task of a Marxian publication like *Science and Society*.

* * *

In "Agricultural Property and Enterprise Under Italian Fascism," Carl T. Schmidt contributes a carefully documented study of fascist measures to strengthen landlordism and finance

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capital at the expense of the poor peasants and the agricultural laborers. With admirable scholarship he effectively demonstrates in what manner the Italian peasant masses and farm laborers have been deceived by Mussolini; how, while playing upon their land-hunger with such Left-sounding slogans as "The Land to the Peasants!" he has steadily and systematically directed his agricultural policies in the interests of the landlords, the rich farmers, and the bankers, whose money and arms had "marched on Rome."

The article, however, is greatly weakened by the omission of all reference to the peasants themselves, except as a supine mass upon which all of these misfortunes are visited. As a living, reacting force, as social beings registering even slight resistance or anger against fascist chicanery and oppression, they are completely left out of the picture.

Can the argument be entertained that the article, as its title denotes, sets out to deal with the agrarian policy of Italian fascism, and as such encompasses only facts germane to its theme? Hardly, in the light of scientific, Marxian research. Facts, for the dialectician, do not exist as isolated phenomena, ar even as isolated groups of phenomena. To contribute to truth, they must be revealed in their varied aspects, in the contradictions of their processes, in their universal inter-relationship and inter-dependence. Scientific truth is attained through the synthesis of facts, a synthesis that allows us to see the facts as objective processes of material reality. Scholarship without dialectical materialism may succeed in adducing facts, but lays them open to distortion.

Can one view the oppression of fascism scientifically and not see—and not cause the reader to see—the imminent, actual class resistance to that oppression? Can one scientifically present an exposition of fascist agrarian economy without presenting its vulnerable aspects, its organic failing which is connected with the entire anti-historical character of fascism? What picture of fascism, indeed, can the reader of such an article carry away with him? Certainly, only one of omnipotence, of unchallenged power, with not even an indication of struggle. That fascism, for all its swashbuckling and terror, is basically an expression of weakness, of desperation before the historic advance of the proletarian revolution in crisis-ridden, declining capitalism—of this, no trace. The author notes the demagogy of Mussolini; but he does not show this demagogy as strong evidence of the temper of the people. He fails to point out that the deceptive slogans of fascism rise obviously from its self-seen weakness, from fear of the social forces over whom it exercises its terrorist dictatorship; that the workers in the cities and the countryside, who but yesterday seized the factories and pressed for the surrender of the land—they who could no longer be held down by decaying capitalism under bourgeois-democratic rule—have not overnight become lower than the grass and stiller than the water.

Schmidt's survey could, indeed, have become the full, clear picture of the agricultural scene under fascism, had it brought out the facts that during fifteen years of fascist oppression the poor peasantry has continually

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fought against the insufferable burden of taxation, in a number of instances (in Sicily and Southern Italy) burning down the town halls in order to destroy the tax records; that the agricultural workers especially have conducted struggles against wage reductions, against unemployment, against the high cost of living and the flagrant violations of contracts. Andrea Marabini, whose articles in *Lo Stato Operaio* the author cites, presents in a recent work* instance after instance of demonstrations and mass movements in many localities throughout Italy, which often assume the proportions of bloody encounters with the armed forces of fascism. Thus, we read:

"In 1930, in Martina Franca, the peasants rose against the numerous and high taxes. They burned the revenue office and the headquarters of the *fascio*. The revolt was crushed in blood.

"In 1931, in Vercelli province, the rice pickers declared a strike against a wage reduction and succeeded in gaining partial victory.

"In 1932, in Venezia Giulia, the peasant women carried their starving children to the City Hall; in the municipality of Bertocchi, they burned the City Hall, and in Bisturi, they burned in the public square an effigy of Mussolini, shouting: *'Viva Lenin. Viva i Sovietti!'*

"In 1933, in Ferrara province, and in Polesine, martial law was declared because of the acuteness of the movements which were spreading throughout practically all the villages. In a village of Salerno, the peasants occupied the City Hall. The Carabinieri fired into the crowd, killing eight demonstrators.

"In 1934, in Pratola Peligna, in Bari, in Taranto, and Sorso, bloody conflicts took place with the Carabinieri, with dead on both sides. In the villages of Gambarra, the peasants resisted confiscations because of failure to pay taxes. The church bells were rung to call the population together. The peasants, armed with their field implements, assembled in the squares and forced the judicial officers to flee.

"In 1935, in Caltanisetta, in Palermo, in Trapani, the peasants demonstrated tumultuously against taxes. The fascist militia fraternized with the masses. Only the intervention of the Carabinieri put an end to the demonstrations.

"In 1936, a powerful demonstration took place in Vittoria. The peasants decided to refuse payment of taxes and protested against the requisition of wine for distillation which had been ordered by the government at ridiculously low prices. The walls of Vittoria were inscribed with the slogans: 'Down with taxes! Down with fascism! Long live the Soviets!' "

And the writer adds:

"These few examples which we record are only a slight summary of hundreds of protest demonstrations and conflicts that have developed in the Italian countryside, especially since 1930. . . . Obviously, these manifestations were not coordinated, but were almost always spontaneous, of short duration, and rarely organized or directed. This is the reason they did not result in a decisive and consequential movement against fascism. Nevertheless, they show the increasing opposition of the peasants against hunger-giving fascism."

These struggles have their manifestations in the fascist organizations themselves, often involving lower categories of fascist functionaries as well as rural priests, who advance the demands of the peasants, sometimes as petitions to Mussolini, in a distorted way, as, for example: "Mussolini is good, but those around him are not concerned with the peasants."

Particularly frequent have been the manifestations against the war adven-

* *Il Fascismo Italiano Affama i Contadini*, the manuscript of which has just reached us from Italy. Similar instances are given in the booklet, *Proletariato Agricolo e Fascismo i Italia*, by the same author, published in 1935, in Brussels.

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tures of Mussolini in Ethiopia and Spain.

Marabini, in the cited document, reports:

"The peasants of Italy have also shown their opposition to the fascist rape of Abyssinia. The first symptoms of ferment and protest against the war policy of fascism from the rural masses took place in Caltanisetta by the peasants and the sulphur miners, at the time when the class of 1911 was called to the colors.

"A general strike was declared, and the women went in masses to the railroad station to prevent the youths from leaving.

"In the fields of Massa (Tuscany), Palermo, Corleone, Aquasanta, Canossa, practically everywhere, violent demonstrations took place against the war. The peasant women were most violent. In some villages attempts were made to attack the City Hall; in others, the headquarters of the *fasci* were burned, and in still others, bloody conflicts took place with the police."

Leaflets and wall inscriptions in favor of Loyalist Spain are frequent. The government has published denunciations of the anti-fascist radio broadcasts from Spain and France and the radio broadcasts of the Communist Party of Italy, forbidding the people to listen to them. In many places funds are being collected for Loyalist Spain. The Garibaldi Brigadiers are adored by the Italian people in town and countryside.

G. Camen, writing in *International Press Correspondence* for November 21, 1936, reports:

"The trial of the workers from the Terni arms factory ended in five death sentences, which were carried out at once. Over one thousand workers in the Province of Trieste, especially in the shipyards of the seaport itself, have been arrested.

"In Leghorn the police have imprisoned about forty shipyard workers. In Minal the series of arrests for 'sympathy for the Spanish republicans' which commenced in August still continues. A number of these accused are to be brought before the Special Court: forty-three of them have already been banished for five years. . . .

"The large-scale collection of funds is one of the most striking expressions of the solidarity movement. In spite of starvation wages, espionage and threats of imprisonment, many thousands of lire have been collected. In Bologna alone 3,200 lire had been collected by October 1; here many of the contributors were workers who were members of the fascist party. In one factory in the Province of Emilia 120 lire were collected among 140 workers; 80 per cent of the workers employed in the factory contributed. In Minal remarkable sums have been raised. Tradesmen and handicraftsmen collected the sum of 1,500 lire, and in two large factories the collections yielded over 1,000 francs."

In the issue of May 1, 1937, Carlo Roncoli reports:

"In Genoa, Turin, and other towns, in which of late leaflets calling for solidarity for Spain have been distributed and anti-fascist slogans with sickle and hammer have been painted on the walls, the blackshirts have been mobilized. They have to patrol the streets the whole night through and have orders to beat up or shoot 'Communist criminals.' . . .

"In the rural districts the fascists are endeavoring to mobilize the most corrupt and degenerate elements in order to fight against the 'Communist and anti-fascist crew who are again raising their heads.' "

Significant is the fact that in many cases the fascist militia, when called out to suppress the protest movement of the peasants, refuses to fire or to make arrests; in some instances the militia is known to have joined the demonstrators.

It must certainly be noted as a deficiency that so sincere and careful a student as Schmidt should write a lengthy survey of the conditions of

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the peasants under fascism, without a word of these facts, and that *Science and Society* should publish this survey without rejoinder or discussion,* when it is the task of Marxism to spur the democratic forces of the world to call the bluff of the sabre-rattling Duce by exposing fascism's crumbling base at home.

Had the author seen the whole picture, instead of half, had he seen not only capitalism but its gravediggers, he would have refuted with facts the contentions of those who refuse to recognize in the peasantry any capacity for struggle. He would have helped to break down the libelous depictions of the Italian peasants in writings such as those of the Trotskyite-minded novelist, Ignazio Silone, whose peasants, caricatured and unreal, are made to feel helpless, natural-born objects of duperies and oppression, calling forth in us commiseration but not the conscious need for rallying them into a popular front against the common fascist foe. He would have recognized the leadership of the underground Communist Party in building the Italian People's Front and in cementing the Socialist-Communist united front, one of whose programmatic planks is the destruction of rural feudalism. He would have shown against the agrarian policy of fascist Italy the gathering wrath of its peasant masses, and would have seen their aspirations symbolized in the martyred Matteottis, Gramscis, and Rosellis; in the Garibaldi Battalion calling on Mussolini's "volunteers" across Spanish trenches to join with them for the defeat of fascism.

Well might this study of present-day fascist counter-revolution have drawn from the utterance of Karl Marx, directed at the counter-revolution which crushed the Paris Commune:

> "The soil out of which [the class struggle] grows is modern society itself. It cannot be stamped out by any amount of carnage. To stamp it out, the government would have to stamp out the despotism of capital over labor—the condition of its own parasitical existence."

* * *

The same issue contains the article, "The Supreme Court and Civil Rights," by Louis B. Boudin. Apart from its intrinsic worth, the paper should be welcomed as the only treatment in the entire year's output of a topic connected with a central political issue of the hour.

This scholarly survey of the Supreme Court's reactionary role effectively answers those opponents of Roosevelt's Court Reform Bill who defend the Supreme Court as a citadel of justice. Boudin states as his thesis:

> "In fact, it is my contention that the Supreme Court in its character of super-legislature has so deprived itself of the power of protecting civil rights and liberties in its character of Supreme Court of justice that it is now hopelessly impotent for that purpose. And one of the ways of restoring its potency as a Supreme Court of justice, of making it a real protector of the civil rights and liberties of the people of the United States, is to deprive it of its character of super-legislature." (P. 276.)

He proceeds to demonstrate this by theory and case instances. He brings his investigation to an end with the words:

* An instance of commendable editorial procedure is the organized discussions of religion in the two articles by Joseph Needham and Corliss Lamont. Issue No. 4.

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". . . we come to the conclusion that not only has the Supreme Court diminished our civil rights by giving to the Constitution a narrow interpretation—often flying in the face of established legal principles and the clear language of the document—but it has deprived those civil rights which it has left to our citizenry of any real content by depriving the federal government—the agency specifically empowered by the Constitution to protect them—of its power to do so." (P. 309.)

As a thorough refutation of any and all apologies for the Supreme Court as a justice-dispensing institution, few writings have ever been so devastating.

Since the author set out to destroy the contentions of the present Court's defenders, it was to be expected that the argument would serve to further Roosevelt's proposal, with whatever criticisms of its insufficiencies had to be made. But the expose of the Court is so conducted that at the end of thirty-six pages of cumulative evidence, one leaves the article feeling that no amount of "unpacking" the Court would be worth the effort; that the Court's power and the nature of that power make immediate, partial, and transitional measures hopeless; that we can accomplish nothing progressive in regard to the Court until we can, in terms of the author's thesis, completely "deprive it of its character of super-legislature."

Perhaps Boudin felt that *Science and Society* was no place for a programmatic statement of immediate, necessarily incomplete, demands on this issue. But certainly we can expect a distinguished student of Marxism to know that we cannot present any social institution in fixed terms, without the interactions accompanying the process of its functioning. Boudin failed to state this. He declared: "The Supreme Court, being a law unto itself, its powers, both positive and negative, depend upon its own will to power." Is its will the sole, the determining one in society; a metaphysical Absolute? Or is there a will that can be more powerful than the Court's will; a law that can annul the Supreme Court, this "law unto itself"; a power and a law that have time and again forced from the Court concessions and even reversals?

Certainly, no one would quarrel with Boudin's contention that even in such favorable decisions as the De Jonge and the earlier Scottsboro cases, the Court evaded the main issue by resorting to technicalities, leaving the criminal syndicalism and similar legislation untouched. But even in pointing this out, he belittles and even ignores the gains forced by mass pressure in the course of class struggle, which these decisions represent—gains that greatly encourage and facilitate further inroads into the usurped power of the Court.

True, the Supreme Court's second Scottsboro decision—not to deny Negroes the right to serve as jurors—was a formal concession, easily negated in practice, as was shown in the subsequent third trial, when the Negro talesman was even Jim-Crowed on a chair outside the jury box for questioning. But that which Boudin sees only as a cynical mockery is charged with thousand-fold greater meaning. That decision of the Supreme Court (as well as the later Herndon victory —another *meaningful* technicality) represents a milestone in the advancement of the Negro people's struggle for complete equality, and strength-

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ens the self-confidence of the democratic forces as a whole. The Negro may sit on a chair outside the jury box; but at that moment he is more powerful than all his judicial baiters in the Southern Court, who fought their hardest to keep him out of even that chair! Boudin, the legalist, has prevented Boudin, the Marxian student, from appreciating these facts.

The article was published in the midst of a constitutional crisis, when all the fascist-minded forces rallied to defend the hallowed institution. Confused Socialists and liberals opposed the Court-reform measure as being inadequate, while recommending the "pure" panacea of constitutional amendment (involving a drawn-out process of many years during which time all progressive social legislation would lie dormant). At such a time every forum of progress in this country was called upon to speak out for the Roosevelt proposal—not to reform, in order to preserve, the usurped power of the Court; but, looking beyond the immediate measure, in order to destroy that power, both by weakening its base (precisely through such "unpacking" as Roosevelt's plan called for) and by solidifying the mass forces that will bring about its eventual destruction as a super-legislative power.

Boudin's article ignored a splendid opportunity to give weight to the agitation for Court reform. This is, indeed, a serious shortcoming, in that Roosevelt's Bill focused the attention of the people upon the Supreme Court as the institution standing in the way of progressive social legislation. Roosevelt's proposal was defeated—not only by the forces of reaction, but by confused liberals and progressives, and—be it said—by insufficient forces on the Left.

To neglect the immediate issue and the mass movement forming around it, is to leave the road open for defeatism that offers only the absolute but immediately unattainable measure as a solution. At the time when the Supreme Court reversed itself in regard to the Wagner Act (coinciding roughly with the publication of this article) Representative Jerry O'Connell stated: "The Constitution clearly depends on how the heat is applied to the Court." But Boudin presents a Court that is vacuum-packed, unreached and unreachable by the heat waves of mass sentiment.

That this, however, does not represent the author's position, can be seen from his later article—the now celebrated essay published in the *New Masses* for September 21, 1937—wherein the relationship of immediate demands to higher objectives is set forth correctly, in dealing with recent liberal rulings of the Supreme Court:

> "The change of heart on the part of the Supreme Court came as a result of the introduction of President Roosevelt's Judiciary Reorganization Bill; and it is safe to say, on the basis of the previous history of the Court, that it will last only as long as the fight for that bill, or some other attempt to curb the judicial power lasts. *Permanent struggle against the Court is the condition of its liberalism*—such is the lesson of the study of our constitutional history."

One wishes that this Marxian position, which made Boudin's extraordinarily thorough and able essay in the *New Masses* so clarifying, had been manifest in *Science and Society*.

* * *

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The appearance of the article, "Some Aspects of Literary Criticism" by William Phillips and Phillip Rahv in *Science and Society*,* brings disconcerting feelings, even though at the time of publication (winter, 1937), these two men had not yet been exposed as Trotskyites. What ends did a Marxian publication hope to serve by presenting to its readers—unchallenged, withal—the insidiously nihilistic attitude toward literary theory which the article seeks to promote?

"Within literature the medium shapes direction to its own uses, which means that it is *not necessarily conveyed in terms of correct politics*. Regardless of his conscious philosophy, the writer may at times prove his fidelity to historic direction by creating profound imaginative equivalents that ideology cannot foresee." (Italics ours—V.J.J.)

This is nothing but a rehash of the long-discredited bourgeois notion which Trotsky sought to smuggle into the labor movement regarding the autonomous nature of sensation; regarding the non-rational, unconscious source of artistic creation—a notion which was expressed in his words: "The methods of art are not the methods of Marxism."

It requires no microscopic lens to see that such an autarchic art medium represents a denial of theory, isolating the writer from the rationality of class-consciousness, the struggle for socialism, which alone, in this age, can save him from desiccation.

The authors' lip-service to Marxism in the earlier paragraphs gives way in the final analysis to reactionary mysticism and intuitivism, which have as much in common with Marxism as the muddied thought-streams of Croce and Il Duce's ideologue, Gentile. For, together with these anti-intellectualist signori, Messrs. Phillips and Rahv invest the artist's "intuitive urge" with "lines of directive force" which "ideology cannot foresee," and award the medium the animistic powers of shaping the direction of thought. Trotskyism, the handmaiden of fascism, in literature as in politics!

Certainly, the relatedness of form and essence in literature is a fitting theme for a magazine like *Science and Society*. The editors owe it to the readers, who expect a dialectic-materialist analysis of the subject, to go into the question searchingly. We might suggest, as a starting point for fruitful discussion, the statement from Hegel selected by Lenin for his *Philosophic Miscellany*.*

"The method is, therefore, not external form, but the soul and concept of the content."

It is refreshing to turn, in the ensuing issue, to Oliver Larkin's monograph, "The Daumier Myth," which sets out—with marked success—to redeem the notable French artist from the slander of having been a split-personality, whose propaganda had no relation to his art. Larkin demonstrates the synthesis which existed between Daumier the social satirist and Daumier the artist, which, perforce, made him the mighty caricaturist. Against those to whom the political caricatures represent a belittlement of Daumier's art, Larkin brings forward his subject with bold, convincing delineation, until you see in him the Voltaire of graphic art. What occurs

* Issue No. 2.

* Published in 1929-30 under the Russian title, *Leninski Sbornik*.

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to us as a shortcoming is the insufficient treatment of the influence on Daumier of the Paris Commune—certainly the greatest historic experience of the age in which this militant artist lived. Perhaps this topic will be discussed in the work on Daumier which Larkin is preparing, and of which this article is a part.

* * *

Edgar Johnson's paper, "Henry Adams: The Last Liberal," * is an estimate of one of America's most representative transitional figures. The young Adams is seen to arise out of his socio-economic surrounding—the mid-nineteenth century merchant and professional aristocracy which finds itself superseded by the new class of industrialists and bankers, for whom it evinces the scorn of an upper caste, but with whom, before long, it identifies itself. Henry Adams, however, cultured, Europeanized individualist, "could neither renounce nor affirm"; for him his class "seemed to have come to an end," and with the class, liberalism, its life-force. Unable to identify himself with "the radical mutations of Marxism," he turned back to the twelfth century for *consolatio philosophiae.*

Johnson writes of Henry Adams with tenderness. There is, indeed, something elegiac in the tone. In mirroring the philosophy of futility of the man he discusses, one feels at moments that the author himself is Ecclesiastes uttering *vanitas vanitatum.* Certainly, this attachment to the "humanity" of his subject halts the author from rounding out his analysis to a full Marxian evaluation and give his discussion an idealistic aura. Too much weight is given to subjective inhibitions and cultural deterrents that blocked Adams' path to socialism. We do not see Adams in full objectivity as an embodiment of the intricate contradictoriness of the upper class groupings of his day. Although reference is made to the matter, we miss the vigorous presentation of his basic economic anchorage to a propertied class and family. A re-statement of Henry Adams in these terms would have placed him more definitely as the cross section, the representative type that "recapitulates the life of a class and of a culture." It would, moreover, have shown clearly liberalism's impasse as that moment in history which ends liberalism as liberalism, bifurcating its path—into the progressive path along which the proletariat, together with all the forward-tending forces advance, and the reactionary route of monopoly capital. Thus, the return to the twelfth century would not be set forth merely as a withdrawal into an ivory tower of the past, but as the grafting of a medieval, feudal outlook upon a modern age turning toward socialism—a grafting process which in the case of certain "liberals" today results in the support, whether conscious or not, of fascism.

Yet, the author could not have shown the impasse of liberalism, the lesson that, at a certain juncture in history, not to proceed is to recede: not to go forward with the progressivism of the nineteenth century was to sink back into the limbo of the twelfth, were he not himself disposed to transcend the liberal's dead end. Thus, he concludes:

* Issue No. 3.

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"Thoughtful men, looking at the world about them today, make their affirmation by transcending the narrowness, not of New England nature, but of restricted loyalties, and breaking through the established molds."

But the value of the article as an exposition of the dead end of liberalism could decidedly have been enhanced had the conclusion stated, strongly and specifically (what Henry Adams failed to state), that the loyalties to be transcended are the loyalties of the old order, that the new affirmation is the affirmation of Marxism.

* * *

Granville Hicks presents us with a competent application of the Marxian method to the literary history of early nineteenth-century England in his "Literary Opposition to Utilitarianism." * He presents the two main currents in the political philosophy of the time, as articulated in the utilitarianism of Bentham and Mill, which, though rooted in apologetics for the ruthlessness of a rising bourgeoisie, represented the progressive trend of its day and a philosophic advance in terms of scientific materialism; and in the anti-utilitarianism of Coleridge, Carlyle, and other writers of their period, with its humanitarian sympathy for the "lower classes," its idealistic desire to "reform business," and its essential alliance with the reactionary forces of church and state. Greater emphasis, however, on the scientific, progressive qualities of utilitarianism, as well as on the Chartist movement, would have given added value to Hicks' sound and luminous analysis of this much-neglected subject.

* * *

We have reached the point in our analysis at which we can arrive at certain conclusions. *Science and Society* is definitely established with an audience in progressive university and professional circles, as well as in the revolutionary movement. This magazine can, indeed, be made into a very important institution, gaining for itself authority and prestige as a Marxist center in the sphere of the sciences and philosophy.

There are, however, certain deterrents and dangers to be noted.

One is that the social sciences will not receive adequate attention, the tendency, as the reviewed issues indicate, being to treat mainly the natural sciences and philosophy. Indeed, political economy is very sparsely represented.

We are aware, in this connection, that the path of Marxist-Leninist treatment of economic and political topics is, for American university instructors and professors, rather "uphill," since it means coming into head-on collision with the powers that be on issues involving the basic structure of capitalism. Such a condition is in itself a bitter commentary on the American educational system. Hence, it is not at all fortuitous that in the entire year's output, the magazine contains a solitary article dealing with basic economic theory, and only two articles having reference respectively to American domestic and colonial policies (supplemented, it is true, by occasional book reviews on these topics). A recognition of this drawback should lead the editors to

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establish ideological contact with the various progressive tendencies of economic and political thought, in order to bring forward, with proper editorial guidance, new contributors from these spheres.

A serious weakness, in a sense deriving from the foregoing, is the almost total absence of polemical warfare against reactionary and counter-revolutionary camps, whose rationalized anti-Marxism manifests itself in the numerous philosophic trends discussed in the introductory section of this review.

In looking over the first year's work of *Science and Society,* we find no indication of struggle against Trotskyism; no heed to the serious tasks of analyzing, exposing, and counteracting this embodiment of counter-revolution and treachery, with its pseudo-philosophical trappings. And this, during a year in which the great Soviet trials and convictions—and that momentous Stalinist document, "Mastering Bolshevism" — demonstrated clearly the need and the method of directing the attack against such masked enemies with vigor and foresight; a year in which the People's Front in Spain branded and outlawed the Trotskyite P.O.U.M. as a helpmate to Franco behind the lines; a year during which the liberal-intellectual world, *Science and Society's* world, was being contaminated with confusion in regard to these issues. In connection with the Marxist-Leninist struggle against Trotskyism, there reigns an unfortunate silence in *Science and Society.* Indeed, the so-called *"Marxist Quarterly,"* which is in reality a camp organ, has escaped without a word of criticism.

But the struggle against Trotskyism is a central task that falls on the editors in their work of promoting the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Precisely in the colleges, one of the main stamping grounds of Trotskyism, where the Hooks and the Burnhams hold court, *Science and Society* has its work to do. Certainly, in American academic spheres, where students and faculty members have been trained to look up to John Dewey, it is expected of a magazine like *Science and Society* to counteract the pernicious influence which the aura of his bygone liberalism may exert in behalf of Trotskyism. The magazine could make a special contribution in this connection by showing that it is not accidental that the foremost exponent of instrumentalism, with its fundamental renunciation of theory and its denial of the class struggle as an objective fact, should branch out in defense of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism; in fact, of any violent opposition to the organizers of the inevitable victory of socialism.

It must be said that *Science and Society* has so far not been able to fulfil this important Marxist task. It has, in its own specific field, failed to point out the danger signs in connection with pragmatist-instrumentalism, the dominant American bourgeois philosophy, which, precisely because of its alleged progressivism, offers an opportunity for philosophic charlatans to adulterate Marxism for the benefit of the bourgeoisie.

What are the principal reasons for this? We can trace them to the magazine's basic weakness. By and large, the contributions evidence a detachment from the scene of proletarian

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practice; from contemporary, economic, social, and political currents. This is evidenced by the tendency to a recession from the present which characterizes the range of topics and, in the main, their treatment. This is not said in any deprecation of the value of historical research, but, on the contrary, in the interests of bringing the study of the past into a closer dialectical relationship with present-day life.

A number of the articles, well-reasoned, logical, basically correct, could have gained in validity and persuasiveness through integration with the dynamics of current events. One looks at the table of contents in the four issues. The subjects, in articles and communications, range themselves as follows:

Philosophy	13	Psychology	1
Political Economy	2	Mathematics	1
History	3	Linguistics	2
Political Theory	3	Religion	2
Colonial Problems	1	Literature and Art	4

Although one welcomes the considerable inclusion of philosophic articles; and while noting, too, that this table must be read with allowance for overlappings, one must register uneasiness at the scarcity of articles dealing—yes, in the manner behooving *Science and Society*—with the most vital issues in the world today. Should not such a publication rather demonstrate that Marxism *as a philosophy* is at one with life, with moving events; the theory and the practice—*the theory because of the practice*—of the working class? Marxism for Marx was never a doctrine isolated from the movements of his day—from the revolutions of 1848, the Paris Commune, the struggle of Poland for liberation, the socialist and trade union movements, the conditions of the working class, the development of the Party, the struggle against anti-proletarian elements as well as their theories. It would be well if the magazine in its future issues presented Marxism in its living unfoldment. This would result in a more concrete application of Marx's method to the economic, political, and theoretical phases of the class struggle in the world today. Such problems as the dialectics of democracy; the nature, origin, and development of classes in the United States; the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state in relation to the government of the People's Front; in addition to the problems of modern natural science in connection with the economic structures and the productions relations of the world of capitalism and the world of socialism—would, if adequately treated, in the specialized manner called for by *Science and Society*, do much to carry out the basic purposes of the magazine, thereby widening its important sphere of influence.

It would be interesting to see a dialectic treatment of the entire range of development of the movement for independent political action of the American working class. Here is a task for some of the contributors who have demonstrated by their careful scholarship their capacity to make a valuable Marxist contribution in regard to the American scene.

It is the tendency to abstraction which is no doubt responsible for the silence of the magazine in regard to the Soviet Union, the touchstone of all political and theoretical positions

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today. Outside of an article on linguistics and, in a sense, the discussion of heritage, not a single treatment of any phase relating to the socialist achievements in the Soviet Union. Yet the visible transformation of society and the individual in the new Socialist Republic, as registered in the great Stalinist Constitution of socialist democracy; the vanguard role of the Soviet Union in relation to progressive humanity, as seen in its policy and struggle for peace—surely, such topics are worthy of a few pages in *Science and Society*.

A segment of the world is being remade, galvanized, under our eyes. A new humanity in birth, a new economy, a new culture, new mores, a new psychology, a new social practice—twenty years of victorious Soviet power; twenty years of empirical proof of the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory which, in this land, the Communists are advancing against all opponents as the program for the American people. And, in the Marxian magazine *Science and Society* not a single article (but for the exceptions noted) dealing with the existence of the Soviet Union—the living embodiment of the Marxian objective.

These serious omissions result from insufficient emphasis that Leninism is the only Marxism today; that Stalin embodies the theory and practice of Marx, Engels and Lenin, developed and rendered concrete in the present epoch of the struggle of the two worlds. Such emphasis would, of necessity, immediately bring to the fore who the actual enemies of Marxism are today and how to fight those enemies. The understanding that the promotion of Marxism means *the struggle for Marxism* would, of necessity, involve the realization of the Party nature of philosophy; that implicit in Marxism is the vanguard Party of the proletariat—the Communist Party; that the revolutionary content of Marx and Engels was restored and developed only there where Bolshevism as a Party came into being in the historic split with Menshevism; that the victory of Marxism in Russia was made possible because of the presence of the Marxist-Leninist Party as guardian, guide, and rallying force of all the exploited and oppressed, through increasingly heightened levels of struggle and class consciousness toward the victorious climax of socialism.

We have stated earlier, and we wish to reaffirm at the conclusion, the considerable achievements of the magazine, its auspicious beginnings, and the hopeful prospects for its realization of the purposes the editors have set for it. On the basis of its efforts and of its realizations to date, *Science and Society* is deserving of the fullest support of the Communist Party and of all progressives.

We have brought these criticisms and suggestions, not without awareness of the difficulties surrounding the editing of such a magazine; not without awareness of the social and psychological factors which make it hard for academic scientists and scholars, who constitute the majority of the contributors, to develop and come forward as definitive exponents of Marxism; not without awareness of the impossibility of achieving completely the objectives in the space of one year of the magazine's existence.

But the very emergence of *Science*

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and Society implies a conscious purpose to transform science into an instrument for re-fashioning society. So it is fitting to remember Lenin's counsel to the editors of the similarly-purposed Soviet periodical, *Under the Banner of Marxism;* that "a magazine that desires to be an organ of militant materialism must be a militant organ."

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BOOK REVIEWS

A WRITER IN ARMS

RALPH FOX, A WRITER IN ARMS, Edited by John Lehmann, T. A. Jackson, C. Day Lewis. International Publishers. New York. $1.75.

BORN in a well-to-do middle-class family of Halifax, Ralph Fox went to Oxford. In 1920 he engaged in famine relief in Soviet Russia. Thus he saw the revolution under the greatest difficulties, and it is significant of his character that the experience made a Communist of him.

He apparently had been interested from early youth in creative writing, and his first published work was a three-act comedy, followed in due season by a novel, *Storming Heaven,* presumably autobiographical. But Fox realized the imperative need of the Communist Party for political theorists and commentators, and he began to train himself. After a period of study at the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow, he wrote his biography of Lenin, and began what he intended to be his particular contribution to revolutionary understanding, the analysis of British imperialism and the British labor movement. He wrote *The Colonial Policy of British Imperialism, Marx and Engels on the Irish Question,* and *The Class Struggle in Britain.* More recently he had written, *Communism, France Faces the Future,* and *Portugal Now.*

But he had never lost his love for literature. For some time before he died he had been working on a novel, a fragment of which, talented and tantalizing, appeared in *New Writing, I.* To the second volume of *New Writing* he contributed a remarkable short story, "Conversation with a Lama," and he was hoping to revisit Mongolia and to write other short stories describing the impact of the West on the East. His interest in the East had already resulted in his *Genghis Khan,* a biography that clearly displayed his creative powers.

In criticism his pen was constantly active, and this volume has reprinted only a few of his periodical writings. These few examples, however, indicate his range; their subjects are the *Tyl Eulenspiegel* legend, Galsworthy's *Swan Song,* Wells' autobiography, and the death of Henri Barbusse. And we have, fortunately, an exhibition on a large scale of his critical powers in his last book, *The Novel and the People.*

A Writer in Arms, which includes extracts from most of the books I have mentioned, is divided into five parts: "The Historian of the Past," "The Historian of the Present," "The Imaginative Writer," "The Political Theorist," and "The Literary Critic." Harry Pollitt, Sidney Webb, Ralph Bates, Michael Gold, John Lehmann, T. A. Jackson, and Dona Torr contribute reminiscences and comments. There is also an account of Fox's death on the Spanish front, and a few passages from his letters.

A Writer in Arms serves to make clear to Americans the remarkable versatility of Ralph Fox. Impressive as this versatility is, it cannot be denied that it had in certain ways a detrimental effect on his work. He was constantly dividing himself between politics and literature, and his work in both fields suffered. *The Class Struggle in Britain,* for example, was never finished, and the two sections that were written seem mere sketches for the detailed study that the revolutionary movement badly needed and needs. His work, moreover, as T. A. Jackson points out, was sometimes marred by minor inaccuracies, the result of the tremendous demands that he made on his time and energy.

But on the other hand the division of his interests had benefits that we must not underestimate. To his political writings he brought the vision and the stylistic discrimination of a novelist and critic. His *Communism,* for instance, is no mere cut-and-dried exposition of Marxian theories; it is

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warm and passionate. Even his incidental journalism, such as the pieces on J. H. Thomas and T. E. Lawrence, show the precision of a skilled crafstman in words and exhibit the feeling for character that distinguished his two biographies. It cannot surprise us that he wrote for the *Communist Review* an article called "Think Before Writing," an appeal to Communists to shun heavy, obscure sentences and bewildering jargon and to follow the example of the great teachers of Communism. When he became a political writer, he was wise enough to study the craftsmanship of the masters of political exposition, and he had earned the right to urge others to do likewise.

If his literary knowledge helped his political writing, his political researches and his long participation in the working class movement strengthened him as creator and critic. Since he did not live to finish his novel, we can only guess at the strength and clarity that would have marked it. In "Conversation with a Lama," however, we have evidence of a personal insight into character that was based on a knowledge of the nature of society. And *The Novel and the People,* marking his maturity as a critic, demonstrated beyond any question that his critical perceptions were integrated with his worldview. He had, as John Lehmann says and as *The Novel and the People* makes clear, the ability to give himself sympathetically to every literary experience, and he responded to that experience with the whole of his being. With particular judgments I might quarrel, as any critic might, but his sense of literary values was profoundly Marxist and therefore profoundly true.

Ralph Fox was the kind of person that it is quite impossible for critics in the bourgeois world, and even for certain critics who pretend to have left that world, to understand. They see his weaknesses, which undeniably exist, and can see little else. They cannot understand his virtues, which are virtues they will never have. They rebuke him for meddling with politics, and think he should have imitated them in making more and more minute analyses of less and less important authors. They do not see that his political activity—his work in the Communist Party as well as his political research and writing—was an essential part of his education as creator and critic. He would have done that work, whatever its consequences, because it was his revolutionary duty; but the consequences were, in the long run, good. An author writes out of what he is, and to be a revolutionary writer you have to be a revolutionary. Fox had made himself a revolutionary, and that is what one feels in his work. He was ripening rapidly, and if he had lived he would have refuted once and for all the silly arguments of the bourgeoisie and the pseudo-Marxists.

If he had lived. . . . I suppose these critics cannot understand his not living. He should have been writing his books, they will say, and not fighting in Spain. No one, after reading *A Writer in Arms,* can doubt that the revolutionary movement suffered a tremendous loss when Ralph Fox fell before a fascist machine gun near Lopera. But no one who reads the book understandingly can fail to see why Fox had to go to Spain. The qualities that we admire in his work sent him into the Spanish people's army; for to write as he did he had to be the kind of person who would risk death in resisting fascist aggression.

GRANVILLE HICKS

A POPULAR STORY OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

WHEN CHINA UNITES, by Harry Gannes. Alfred A. Knopf, New York. 293pp. Index. $2.50.

SPAIN and China are the two spots in the world today where the most imperialistic expansionist policies of the most reactionary powers have been given their sharpest expression. If not stopped by collective action of the peace-loving powers, the inevitable tendency is for either or both of the two wars to develop into a worldwide conflagration. The worldwide nature of the issues involved and the impossibility of localizing major "local" wars in our epoch give such wars a world character and interest that have no equal in previous history.

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This situation creates an almost unprecedented demand for information on Spain and China that will help us to understand the war.

Comrade Gannes grasps the importance of the task, and should be congratulated for being so prompt in setting out to satisfy the demand for enlightenment in regard to both countries. His book on Spain, written in collaboration with Theodore Repard, has already won recognition as an important contribution to popularizing the Spanish issue for the American public. It is reasonable to expect that his new book, *When China Unites,* will also receive widespread attention.

The book opens with the opium war and briefly tells the story of the Chinese movement for national liberation. Imperialist encroachments, beginning with the opium war in 1842, reduced China to a semi-colonial status and retarded her socio-economic and political development. The 1911 Revolution was China's first successful attempt to remove the first major obstacle in the way of her development.

However, although the passing of the Manchu monarchy and the birth of the republic represented an important victory for the people, neither the anti-imperialist nor the democratic tasks of the revolution were completely carried out by the 1911 Revolution. Much remained to be done. The disappointments of the Versailles Conference turned the people's attention from politics to socio-economic and cultural problems. From 1919 to 1922, the literary "revolution," the movement of sharp criticism of Confucian standards of conduct and student "revolt," dominated the scene. It was commonly designated as China's period of renaissance.

The great seamen's strike of 1922 ushered in a period during which the labor movement became a mass force and the driving power in the Chinese liberation movement. In the Great Revolution of 1925-27, the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal character of the Chinese revolution revealed itself clearly, in the attempt to establish a democratic system in China which would guarantee the country's development along non-capitalist lines. The movement suffered a severe setback in 1927, but, as subsequent history has shown, the seed of a thorough-going social revolution was sown in that period. Despite the severest White terror, the partisan movement developed in 1928, later bringing about the establishment of Soviet districts over many provinces in China, and the organization of the Chinese Red Army. Meanwhile, in 1931, Japan occupied Manchuria. This event marked the opening of a new period in Far Eastern history and gave a new emphasis to the direction of development of the Chinese liberation movement. Soon after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria, on September 18, 1931, the Chinese Communist Party proposed a united front movement against Japan. Since then, the demand for national unity in resistance to Japanese aggression has become the dominant note in Chinese politics.

This is, generally speaking, the thesis of the book. It is the Marxist-Leninist interpretation of modern Chinese history. Comrade Gannes gathered his material carefully from documents of the Communist International and the Chinese Communist Party, as well as from authoritative writings by outstanding Marxist-Leninists.

Taken as a whole, the general thesis of the book is correct. However, in relation to the proportion of space given to individual topics, and the emphasis laid on certain incidents, there remains much to be desired. The book would have gained by a more adequate treatment of two of the most outstanding topics with which it deals.

First, the entire Soviet period, from 1927 to 1937, is not adequately treated. The author devotes considerable space to detailed reports of the movement of the Red Army on its westward march. We are told when it crossed a certain river and when it occupied a certain town. But, aside from an occasional reference, practically nothing is said of the socio-economic and cultural program of the Soviet districts.

Of course, as a result of the success of the National Front against Japan, the Soviet districts have been reorganized into a Special Administrative District and their internal policy has been considerably modified. But this does not change the fact that, historically, the program for socio-economic and cultural revolution and upbuilding, successfully carried out by the Chinese Soviet government, left an indelible mark on the social

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